1967

1076

VOL XI

(1 NOV -

FO 1076

File No. 1076

FO 174/406

Name of File—

INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

NO MINUTES TO BE WRITTEN HERE

RECORD OF WEEDING		
	INITIALS	DATE
2 YEARS		11/11/74
5 YEARS (CONSULAR POSTS ONLY)		
10 YEARS		

LAST Year's File No. 1076/66

NEXT Year's File No.

1076

(1883) D. 156230 177M 10/65 P.I. Gp. 610

1967

1070

INWARD TELEGRAM

En Clair
Code Code R
Cypher
(Paraphrase Heading)
Cypher/OTP
En Clair by Conf. Bag

C4 Cat A

[Distribution Heading]

FROM

TO

[Signature]

[No. and prefix] No. 559 D M

[Date] 1 Nov. R M

Repeated to

A.L. Southam 2.X
H.O. 2/10
H-of-D 2/10

[Priority] ROUTINE

CONFIDENTIAL

AUDRESSED TO AMMAN TELEGRAM NO ~~2353~~ 2353 OF 1 NOVEMBER

REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO ADEN (TELNO 1070)

JEDDA KUWAIT BAHRAIN BEIRUT JERUSALEM TEL AVIV

TRIPOLI BENGHAZI CAIRO ALGIERS TUNIS RABAT UKMIS

NEW YORK MOSCOW WASHINGTON AND PARIS.

RAF FLIGHT TO ISRAEL.

YOU SHOULD KNOW THAT ONE RAF TRANSPORT

DISTRIBUTION AIRCRAFT WILL FLY FROM CYPRUS TO LOD IN ISRAEL ON

4 NOVEMBER. RETURNING FORTHWITH.

2. IT WILL CARRY SCIENTIFIC EQUIPMENT FOR

DISPLAY IN THE BRITISH SCIENTIFIC WEEK IN HAIFA

WHICH WAS EN ROUTE FOR ISRAEL IN A SHIP. WHICH

HAD. HOWEVER. BEEN DELAYED IN THIS COUNTRY BY THE

DOCK STRIKE. IT EMERGED THAT THE ONLY WAY OF

GETTING THE EQUIPMENT TO ISRAEL IN TIME FOR THE

OPENING OF THE BRITISH SCIENTIFIC WEEK BY THE

ADVANCE COPIES TO:—

/Postmaster General

389.Wt.37518/D161.1000.11/63.C.P.L.Gp.626.

POSTMASTER-GENERAL ON 5 NOVEMBER (SEE PARA. 4 OF GUIDANCE TEL 273) WAS BY AIRLIFT FROM CYPRUS.

3. IT WAS ONLY WHEN IT PROVED IMPOSSIBLE TO LIFT THE EQUIPMENT IN TIME BY CIVIL CHARTER THAT WE AGREED THE USE OF A RAF TRANSPORT AIRCRAFT.

4. IN DEALING WITH ENQUIRIES FROM THE PRESS, YOU MAY DRAW ON PARAS. 1 AND 2 ABOVE.

SOSFA

SERVICE TELEX ◇ SERVICE TELEX ◇ SE

PRODROME RABAT
FOR 007 FOLDN GR 24
ROUTINE FOREIGN OFFICE TO RABAT
TELNO 563 2 NOV 1967.

1076

TELEGRAM ADDRESSED SUBSTANTIVELY AS NO.2553
TO AMMAN OF 1/11 SHOULD BE RENUMBERED AS NO.2353
REPEAT 2353 TO AMMAN.
ERROR REGRETTED.
SOSFA/CROSEC

BT
GR 24

NNNN

Parch
Pl. amend.
3/11.

L
PRODROME RABAT
022128Z AW

1076

INWARD TELEGRAM

En Clair
Code Code R
Cypher
(Paraphrase Heading)
Cypher/OTP
En Clair by Conf. Bag

Cypher/OTA

[Distribution Heading]

FROM F.O. TO RABAT.

[Signature]

[No. and prefix] No. 565 D M

[Date] 2 Nov. R M

Repeated to

A. L. Souhami 3.XI
L.O. 3/11/67
H. of C. 3/11

[Priority] ROUTINE

CONFIDENTIAL

ADDRESSED TO AMMAN TELNO 2371 OF 2 NOVEMBER AND

TO TEL AVIV REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO U.K.

MISSION NEW YORK. WASHINGTON. PARIS AND ARAB POSTS.

BALFOUR DECLARATION:

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS.

IN VIEW OF THE INTEREST ALREADY SHOWN IN ARAB

COUNTRIES IN MR. SHORT~S INFORMAL REMARKS IN ISRAEL.

DISTRIBUTION

YOU SHOULD KNOW THAT HE WILL MAKE A FORMAL

SPEECH ON 2 NOVEMBER AT AN OFFICIAL BALFOUR

DINNER TO BE GIVEN BY THE ISRAEL GOVERNMENT IN THE

KNESSET BUILDING IN JERUSALEM.

2. M I F T QUOTES A NUMBER OF PASSAGES FROM HIS

SPEECH AS AGREED IN DRAFT BEFORE HE LEFT LONDON.

3. (TEL AVIV ONLY) YOU SHOULD CONFIRM TO

Recipients

ADVANCE COPIES TO:—

389.We.37518/D161.1000.11/63.C.P.L.Gp.626.

RECIPIENTS OF THIS TELEGRAM AFTER DELIVERY OF THE SPEECH THAT THE PASSAGES IN M I F T WERE DELIVERED AS AGREED HERE. OR INFORM THEM OF ANY CHANGES OR ADDITIONS OF WHICH THEY MIGHT NEED TO KNOW IN ORDER TO DEAL WITH LOCAL PRESS ENQUIRIES. SOSFA.

1076

INWARD TELEGRAM

En Clair
Code Code R
Cypher
(Paraphrase Heading)
Cypher/OTP
En Clair by Conf. Bag

Cypher/CAT A

[Distribution Heading]

FROM 7.0. TO RABAT.

[Signature]

[No. and prefix] No. 566 D M

[Date] 2 NOV. R M

Repeated to

A.L. Souhami 3.XI
I.O. 3/11/67
H. of S 4/11

[Priority] ROUTINE.

CONFIDENTIAL

ADDRESSED TO AMMAN TELNO 2372 OF 2/11

WASHINGTON, PARIS. TEL AVIV. AND ARAB POSTS.

M I P T.

FOLLOWING ARE RELEVANT EXCERPTS FROM THE SPEECH:

IN 1947. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ENDORSED THE ESTABLISHMENT IN PALESTINE OF A JEWISH STATE AND ISRAEL BECAME A MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THE BIRTH OF THIS STATE WAS. HOWEVER. FOLLOWED BY A TRAGIC WAR BETWEEN ISRAEL AND HER ARAB NEIGHBOURS. THE CONSEQUENCES OF WHICH STILL FRUSTRATE THE UNIVERSAL HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS FOR THE PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT OF THIS REGION OF THE WORLD FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL ITS INHABITANTS.

HER MAJESTY~S GOVERNMENT~S POLICY IN THE MIDLE EAST IS DICTATED BY THE DEEP DESIRE TO SEE THE

DISTRIBUTION

ADVANCE COPIES TO:—

389.Wt.37518/D161.1000.11/63.C.P.L.Gp.626.

Resolution

RESOLUTION OF THE CONFLICTS IN THE AREA IN A JUST AND PERMANENT SETTLEMENT. THE MAIN OUTLINES OF THIS POLICY ARE WELL KNOWN TO YOU. ON THIS OCCASION IT SEEMS APPROPRIATE TO ISOLATE FOR ATTENTION TWO IMPORTANT ASPECTS.

H.M.G BELIEVE THAT ANY PERMANENT SETTLEMENT MUST RECOGNISE THE RIGHTS OF ALL STATES IN THE AREA TO AN INDEPENDENT POLITICAL EXISTENCE IN PEACE AND SECURITY. AND MUST ESTABLISH RESPECT FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE FREE AND INNOCENT PASSAGE THROUGH INTERNATIONAL WATERWAYS OF THE AREA FOR SHIPS OF ALL NATIONS. EQUALLY ANY SUCH SETTLEMENT MUST RECOGNISE THE PRINCIPLE THAT WAR SHOULD NOT LEAD TO TERRITORIAL AGGRANDISEMENT. MOREOVER. A PERMANENT SETTLEMENT MUST TAKE DUE ACCOUNT OF THE INTERESTS OF THE ARAB REFUGEES. AND I SHOULD NOT BE HONEST IF I REMAINED SILENT ABOUT THIS ON THIS OCCASION. WE ARE HERE TO CELEBRATE THE BALFOUR DECLARATION. IN THIS CONTEXT IT HAS TO BE RECALLED THAT THE BALFOUR DECLARATION WAS AN UNDERTAKING TO FACILITATE THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A JEWISH NATIONAL HOME IN PALESTINE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS RIGHTS OF THE EXISTING NON-JEWISH

communities

COMMUNITIES THERE. IN GIVING THANKS FOR ALL THAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IN AND BY ISRAEL WE MUST NOT FORGET THAT THE BALFOUR DECLARATION IMPOSES AN OBLIGATION ON US IN BRITAIN AND ALSO, I AM SURE YOU WOULD AGREE, ON YOU IN ISRAEL TOWARDS THE ARAB INHABITANTS OF PALESTINE, BOTH THOSE STILL WITHIN THE OLD MANDATORY BORDERS AND THOSE WHO HAVE FLED.

OF COURSE ALL THESE AIMS CANNOT BE ACHIEVED IN ISOLATION. BUT NEED TO BE PURSUED IN THE CONTEXT OF A GENERAL SETTLEMENT WHICH IS BASED ON A JUST SOLUTION OF ALL OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS, AND ON THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

IN REMEMBERING THE HISTORIC OCCASION OF THE BALFOUR DECLARATION, I EXPRESS, ON BEHALF OF HER MAJESTY~S GOVERNMENT THE ARDENT HOPE THAT WE SHALL SOON SEE PROGRESS TOWARDS SUCH A SETTLEMENT AND THE OPENING OF AN ERA OF PEACE IN THIS REGION WHICH I KNOW IS ARDENTLY DESIRED BY THE PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL. SOSFA.

SAVING **TELEGRAM**

1076

~~Cypher~~ ~~xxx~~ en clair

From:— RABAT *To:—* FOREIGN OFFICE

Despatched Received

No. Savingram No.18 of 2 November, 1967.

UNCLASSIFIED

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 18 Saving of 2 November.

Your telegram No. 41 Saving of 25 October to Abidjan.

MIDDLE EAST TALKING POINTS

We no longer regard this series of telegrams as necessary to us for use here.

HOLLIDAY

Wt.51907 Dd.D327 50M 12/60 LP235

SERVICE TELEX ◇ S

PRODROME RABAT
CENTROFORM LDN

Information action being taken separately on duplicate copy G Brunnavon 3 Nov 1967

1076

VERBATIM SERVICE 422/67 THURSDAY 2ND NOVEMBER 1967.

MIDDLE EAST

I have arranged with I.O. to let me have copies of his translations of Nos 7 of 421 to liaise with the M.E.A. on Monday

HEQ
HOffaw
Dadfor
FSEtaw
PS
ALS

FOLLOWING IS VERBATIM EXTRACT FROM FOREIGN SECRETARY'S SPEECH IN HOUSE OF COMMONS FOREIGN AFFAIRS DEBATE ON SECOND NOVEMBER, 1967.

3/11

NOW LET ME TURN TO THE WIDER MIDDLE EASTERN PROBLEM OF THE ARAB/ISRAEL DISPUTE. THE SITUATION BETWEEN THESE COUNTRIES REMAINS DANGEROUS. IT IS NOW NEARLY FIVE MONTHS SINCE THE JUNE WAR, AND SO FAR THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE PROGRESS TOWARDS A SETTLEMENT. THE URGENT HUMANITARIAN PROBLEM OF ARAB REFUGEES, BOTH OLD AND NEW, IS NO NEARER A SOLUTION, AND THE PLIGHT, AS WINTER COMES ON, OF THOSE WHO LEFT THEIR HOMES OR CAMPS ON THE WEST BANK AS A RESULT OF THE WAR IS AN APPALLING REMINDER OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF WAR WHICH WILL BE FAR MORE TERRIBLE IF LARGE SCALE FIGHTING BREAKS OUT AGAIN. RECENT EVENTS, THE SINKING OF THE DESTROYER, AND THE SEVERE DAMAGE TO EGYPTIAN OIL INSTALLATIONS AT SUEZ HAVE FURTHER UNDERLINED THE DANGERS INHERENT IN THE PRESENT TENSE SITUATION.

IT IS MY FIRM CONVICTION THAT AS MATTERS STAND TIME IS ON NOBODY'S SIDE. ON ALL SIDES NERVES WILL GET STRAINED., PUBLIC OPINION WILL BECOME IMPATIENT., POSITIONS WILL BECOME HARDER AND MORE INFLEXIBLE, AND THE PRESSURES ON NATIONAL LEADERS WILL MAKE IT HARDER FOR THEM TO DISPLAY THE SPIRIT OF COMPROMISE AND REALISM WHICH WILL BE NECESSARY IF WE ARE EVERY TO REACH A JUST SETTLEMENT.

SERVICE TELEX ◇ SERVICE TELEX ◇

SERVICE TELEX ◇ SERVICE TELEX ◇ SERVICE TELEX ◇ SERVICE TELEX

AND YET I BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE NO ELEMENTS IN THE PROBLEM WHICH ARE FUNDAMENTALLY INSOLUBLE, NO VITAL INTERESTS OF EITHER SIDE WHICH CANNOT BE MET BY THE OTHER, GIVEN THE WILL TO DO SO. IT IS THE CLOUD OF SUSPICION, FEAR AND RECRIMINATION, WHICH PREVENTS PROGRESS. SO DENSE IS THIS CLOUD THAT IT SEEMS UNREALISTIC TO THINK THAT THE MERE PRESSURE OF EVENTS WILL BRING THE TWO SIDES TOGETHER IN NEGOTIATIONS. THIS IS WHY WE BELIEVE THAT THE ROLE OF THE U.N. IS SO VITAL. THIS IS WHY I HAVE BEEN PRESSING EVER SINCE THE CRISIS STARTED, LONG BEFORE HOSTILITIES BROKE OUT, FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL WHO COULD ESTABLISH COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES.

IT IS OBVIOUSLY DESIRABLE THAT AN EMISSARY OF THE U.N. SHOULD BE FORTIFIED BY A DIRECTIVE SETTING OUT THE BROAD FRAMEWORK WHICH THE SECURITY COUNCIL REGARDS AS APPROPRIATE TO A JUST AND LASTING SETTLEMENT. WITHOUT SUCH A DIRECTIVE HIS COUNSEL AND PERSUASION WOULD NOT COMMAND THE NECESSARY RESPECT. THAT IS WHY MY RIGHT HONOURABLE AND NOBLE FRIEND THE MINISTER OF STATE LORD CARADON HAS BEEN WORKING HARD AT THE U.N., FOR A BALANCED RESOLUTION SETTING OUT THE ESSENTIAL BROAD PRINCIPLES.

I WAS GLAD TO NOTE IN MY TALKS WITH FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES IN NEW YORK AND SUBSEQUENTLY HERE, THE VERY WIDE MEASURE OF INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT ON THE NEED TO MOVE FORWARD AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE ON THESE LINES. IT HAS BEEN ALL THE MORE DISAPPOINTING THEREFORE THAT AN AGREED TEXT FOR A SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION HAS NOT YET EMERGED.

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF ALL MEMBERS OF THE U.N., AND ESPECIALLY OF MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO PROMOTE ACTION TOWARDS A SETTLEMENT OF THIS DANGEROUS PROBLEM ARE VERY HEAVY. THERE MUST BE NO COMPROMISE ON PRINCIPLES, BUT EQUALLY NO INSISTENCE ON ANY PARTICULAR APPROACH SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO OBSTRUCT PROGRESS. HON. MEMBERS OPPOSITE MAY NOT REALISE IT BUT WHAT WE ARE SAYING HERE TODAY COULD HAVE A VERY CONSIDERABLE EFFECT ON THE EVENTS IN NEW YORK AT THIS CRUCIAL TIME.

THE NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL ARE MEETING CONSTANTLY IN NEW YORK IN AN ATTEMPT TO ARRIVE AT AN ACCEPTABLE FORMULA. IT WOULD NOT BE APPROPRIATE FOR ME TO GO FURTHER AT THIS STAGE THAN TO SAY THAT LORD CARADON IS DOING EVERYTHING HE CAN TO ENCOURAGE AND ASSIST THEIR EFFORTS. WE FOR OUR PART WILL BE PREPARED TO SUPPORT ANY FAIR AND BALANCED FORMULATION WHICH COMMANDS SUBSTANTIAL SUPPORT.

SUEZ CANAL

WITHIN THE WHOLE COMPLEX OF THESE PROBLEMS OF THE MIDDLE EAST THERE IS ONE MATTER THAT IS OF PARTICULAR CONCERN NOT ONLY TO HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT BUT ALSO TO ALL OTHER NATIONS, THAT USE OR ARE SERVED BY THE SUEZ CANAL, INCLUDING THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES EAST OF SUEZ. THIS MATTER IS THE OPENING OF THAT GREAT WATERWAY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO THE SHIPPING OF ALL NATIONS. BUT THERE IS OBVIOUSLY A CLOSE LINK BETWEEN THIS PARTICULAR PROBLEM AND THE WIDER PROBLEMS OF THE MIDDLE EAST I WAS TALKING ABOUT JUST NOW. OUR OVERRIDING CONCERN IS WITH THE PEACE AND STABILITY OF THE WHOLE AREA., AND WE SHALL NOT ALLOW ANY NARROWER INTERESTS TO AFFECT THE POLICIES WE ARE PURSUING TO THAT END.

HOWEVER, IT DOES SEEM TO ME THAT THERE IS ONE ASPECT OF THE PROBLEM OF THE CANAL THAT COULD BE DEALT WITH WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE WIDER ISSUES. IT OUGHT TO BE POSSIBLE TO ARRANGE FOR THE CLEARING OF THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE CANAL AND THEREFORE ASSURE THE RELEASE OF THE SHIPS OF EIGHT NATIONS, INCLUDING FOUR BRITISH VESSELS, THAT ARE NOW BLOCKED IN THE GREAT BITTER LAKE. I HAVE REPRESENTED - AND WILL CONTINUE TO REPRESENT - THAT THIS SHOULD BE DONE.

I INSTRUCTED SIR HAROLD BEELEY TO TAKE THIS UP WITH THE U.A.R. AUTHORITIES WHEN HE VISITED CAIRO THE WEEK BEFORE LAST. HE DID SO, AND THEY UNDERTOOK TO EXAMINE THE MATTER CAREFULLY. I AM EXPECTING THEM TO DO SO AND AM REMINDING THEM THAT WE ARE AWAITING AN ANSWER.

THAT APART, THE PURPOSE OF SIR HAROLD BEELEY'S MISSION WAS TO DISCUSS THE RESUMPTION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC, FOR MY PART I AM GLAD TO SAY THAT PROGRESS WAS MADE. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC SHARES OUR DESIRE FOR THIS, AND I EXPECT TO BE ABLE TO MAKE AN ANNOUNCEMENT SOON. I THINK THE HOUSE WILL AGREE THAT AT THE PRESENT TIME IT IS MORE THAN EVER DESIRABLE THAT WE SHOULD HAVE REGULAR ACCESS TO THE U.A.R. GOVERNMENT AT A HIGH LEVEL.

END VS 422/67... L P S

PRODROME RABAT

SERVICE TELEX ◇

1076

F.O. TEL. No. 1386 CAVING 153 Labat

En Clair

PRIORITY CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Telno 1111 3 November, 1967

UNCLASSIFIED

The Americans are now apparently regarded as alone in their pro-Zionist villainy. A.L. Sanborn 13.4

H. of C. Saw 14/4

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 1111 of 3 November.

Repeated for information to:

Washington
Paris
Algiers
Bahrain
Benghazi
Khartoum
Rabat
Tunis
LIC Aden
JIC Nicosia.
UKMis New York
Moscow
Amman
Beirut
Jedda
Kuwait
Tripoli
Tel Aviv
H.C. Aden (Personal)

And Saving to:

Following is summary of Heikal's Article today, entitled 'And then what?'.

2. There no longer exists much hope of a solution to the crisis by political action alone. No resolution acceptable to the Arabs would be accepted by Israel unless it was imposed on her by the United States and there is no sign that the latter will do so. The United States have abandoned their own project of July and their attitude is exactly that of Israel. That the Arabs must accept negotiation, partial annexation, Israel ships in the canal, and the postponement of the refugee problem. American pressure blocked the Indian resolution at the Security Council and dictated the Danish. America had supplied Israel with more bombers. America's mounting animosity against the Arabs was designed to dominate them, suppress their revolution, and humiliate them.

3. But the Israel victory cannot be lasting, or be repeated. The revolution is permanent and unity was vindicated at Khartoum. Meanwhile American attitude only confirms accusation of military collusion. It is an illusion if the Americans think they can trade peace in the Middle East for peace in Viet Nam. The Arabs are not Russia's to dispose of, nor, even in their differences of 1958 and 59 did Russian Arab relations suffer from any Russian blackmail. The main preoccupation of the Americans is their forthcoming elections. President Johnson has not learned the lesson of Eisenhower and Suez.

4. Only in the United Nations can a political solution be found and there is now no sign of this because of American intervention. The failure however is of itself a positive result in that it rules out a political solution. But a solution of another kind is not ruled out and neither the Arab nation nor the U.A.R. have wasted the last five months.

Foreign Office please pass to Washington No. 122, UKMis New York No. 130, Paris No. 30, Moscow No. 29 and Saving to Algiers No. 12, Amman No. 11, Bahrain No. 5, Beirut No. 19, Benghazi No. 9, Jedda No. 16, Khartoum No. 8, Kuwait No. 9, Rabat No. 9, Tripoli No. 10, Tunis No. 9, Tel Aviv No. 14, LIC Aden No. 2, H.C. Aden(Personal) 4 and JIC Nicosia No. 2.

Mr. Tesh.

[Repeated as requested].

F.O./C.O./WH DISTRIBUTION
N.E.A.D.
uuuuu

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY 10 NOV 1967

F.O. TEL. No. 137 SAVING TO Rabat 1076

CONFIDENTIAL

A.L. Souter 15.11
H. of C/Tesh 15/11
H Eh 15/11
D.A. 15/11
Mgr 29/11.

Cypher/Cat A

PRIORITY CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Telno 1112 3 November, 1967

CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to F.O. telegram No. 1112 of 3 November
Repeated for information to:- Washington, U.K.Mis New York, Paris, Moscow and Saving to:- Algiers, Amman, Bahrain (Residency), Beirut, Benghazi, Jedda, Khartoum, Kuwait, Rabat, Tripoli, Tunis, Tel Aviv, LIC Aden, H.C. Aden Personal, JIC Nicosia.

My immediately preceding telegram. -1076/67

Heikal's article is the culmination of a week of bitter attacks on the United States. The Press is increasingly assuming that the search for a political solution has failed. The Arabs have made all possible concessions: they insist on Israel's return to pre-June 5 lines: Israel has not won the war as long as Arab unity persists and existing régimes survive: her future intentions are aggressive and contain seeds of third world war: and, emerging again in today's editorials as it did after sinking of "Eilat", Egypt is on its way to being ready for a second round.

2. Pakistan Ambassador, who claims to meet Nasser en famille, is quoted by Clare Hollingworth as saying that he now sees a stalemate of six months (over which time financial position can be held): that 90% of Egypt's weapon strength has been replaced: but that concentration is on defence against possible Israel seizure of Canal.

F.O. please pass Washington 123, U.K.Mis New York 131, Paris 31, Moscow 30 and Saving to Algiers 13, Amman 12, Bahrain Residency 6, Beirut 20, Benghazi 10, Jedda 17, Khartoum 9, Kuwait 10, Rabat 10, Tripoli 11, Tunis 10, Tel Aviv 15, LIC Aden 3, H.C. Aden Personal 5 and JIC Nicosia 3.

Mr. Tesh
[Repeated as requested]

FO/CO/WH DISTRIBUTION
Eastern Dept
N.E.A.D.
U.N.D.

CONFIDENTIAL

bbbbb

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY 14 NOV 1967

CONFIDENTIAL

1076

(1571/67)

Canadian Embassy,
BRITISH INTERESTS SECTION,
Cairo.

4 November, 1967.

AJS 15.XI

Will you please refer to your letter to Mandel, Tel Aviv, enclosing a copy of the record of a conversation between Mr. Roberts and a deputation from the Board of Deputies of British Jews. I apologise for the delay in sending you our comments. I had made preliminary enquiries but thought it better to discuss the matter with M. Boisard, the senior representative in Cairo of the International Red Cross. He has been travelling a good deal and I have only just been able to contact him.

2. As you know, at the outbreak of hostilities a large number of Jews were rounded up and sent to a concentration camp at Abu Zaabal. A number of arrests were also made after the cease-fire. In all about 490 were arrested and sent to Abu Zaabal. Apart from these arrests there has been no campaign against the Jews as such and no reports of looting of Jewish property. In fact both we and the International Red Cross have had reports of considerable kindness shown to the wives and families of some of the Jews who were arrested. However, there have been reports of verbal abuse of Jews in the poorer sections of the community where the Karaite Jews live. Most of these speak only Arabic and they have no wish to leave this country which has been their home for many generations. Nevertheless, it is clear that the U.A.R. authorities would be happier if there were no Jews in the United Arab Republic. About 260 of the Jews arrested have been released on condition that they left the country. Only 16 have been released in the country, four of these were of the Moslem faith and the other 12 released on health or age grounds.

3. The Spanish, French and Italian Embassies have been active in helping these Jews to leave and much of the work of the International Red Cross is directed towards coordinating action between these Embassies. The general pattern seems to be that the families go to the ship or plane independently and the internee is sent under guard, sometimes in handcuffs, direct to the plane or ship. At first the families had to travel with the internee but now some families are being allowed to stay after the internee has left in order to wind up their affairs and salvage whatever property they can. Some of those in custody are reluctant to give up their property or profession here and have elected to remain in custody in the hope that they will be allowed to stay. However, there have been reports that the families of those electing to stay have been put under a certain amount of pressure to leave by the imposition of claims for back taxes and social security contributions.

/4.

A. J. Beamish, Esq.,
Eastern Department,
Foreign Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY
14 NOV 1967

4. We understand conditions in Abu Zaabal are not pleasant but are better than in the normal prisons. M. Boisard states that before release Jews are taken to one of the prisons in Cairo for three or four days. This experience has had a worse psychological effect on the internee than the months spent in Abu Zaabal. In the early stages there was considerable overcrowding at Abu Zaabal and the inmates were obliged to sleep on the floor. They are now able to sleep on wooden slats. The food is not good but they have had enough to eat. In the first three weeks there were reports of beatings and ill treatment but later reports are that conditions are not too bad. Relatives are able to send letters and parcels through the International Red Cross and also to receive letters through the same source.

5. M. Boisard is of the opinion that the problem of the Rabinate Jews will be solved in the near future. A number of prominent Jews in the Rabinate were not arrested and these are helping the internees and families with travel arrangements and exit formalities. M. Boisard thinks that some of the difficulties have arisen because the U.A.R. authorities cannot agree amongst themselves as to how the problem should be solved. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs are concerned that the international image of the United Arab Republic should not be tarnished. The Ministry of the Interior and its organisations are more concerned with the security aspect. The military authorities have been anxious to link the problem with that of the return of U.A.R. prisoners of war held by Israel. At the moment the Ministry of Interior appears to have the greatest say and M. Boisard's contacts are chiefly with them. M. Boisard thinks that the Karaite Jews referred to above will continue to be a problem.

6. The U.A.R. authorities appear anxious that they should not be accused of general persecution of the Jews. Those who have left have been foreign nationals or stateless. They have been asked to sign a paper to the effect that they have been well treated, that they were interned for their own security, and were leaving of their own will. No Jew of United Arab Republic nationality has been allowed to leave. If they possessed it they were required to renounce it voluntarily before leaving. The Jews have also been required to leave in small groups in order to avoid the accuasation that there has been mass exodus.

7. M. Boisard is anxious that he should not be quoted in any way as the source of the information contained in this letter.

8. I am sending copies of this letter to the recipients of yours.

(H. V. Richardson)

1076

INWARD TELEGRAM

En Clair
Code Code R
Cypher
(Paraphrase Heading)
Cypher/OTP
En Clair by Conf. Bag

CY/Cat A

[Distribution Heading]

FROM F.O. TO RABAT

[Signature]

[No. and prefix] No. GUIDANCE 285 D M

[Date] 4 Nov R M

Repeated to

6/11/67 HJ Crossman HE

[Priority] PRIORITY

CONFIDENTIAL.

ADDSD TO CERTAIN MISSIONS. ARAB/ISRAEL:

BALFOUR DECLARATION.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL MR CROSSMAN IS

ADDRESSING MO RALLY IN LONDON ON 5/11 TO

COMMEMORATE THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BALFOUR

DECLARATION. THE ISRAEL FOREIGN MINISTER . MR EBAN.

WILL ALSO BE SPEAKING AT THE MEETING.

DISTRIBUTION

2. IN VIEW OF THE NATURE OF THE OCCASION SOME OF

MR CROSSMANS REMARK MAY BE MISUNDERSTOOD IN ARAB

COUNTRIES. YOU SHOULD NOT THEREFORE TAKE THE

INITIATIVE IN PUBLICISING HIS REMARKS. IF YOU FIND

THAT THEY PROVOKE A HOSTILE REACTION. YOU SHOULD

DRAW ATTENTION TO THE FACT AS MR CROSSMAN HIMSELF

WILL SAY IN HIS SPEECH THAT WHAT HE SAYS IS BASED

ON PERSONAL EXPERIENCES AND REMAINS A PERSONAL

STATEMENT~~. THE POLICY OF HMG REMAINS AS STATED

BY MYSELF IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND IN THE UN

GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

Mr Crossman is well known for his pro-Israeli attitude. JGW.

ADVANCE COPIES TO:—

SoSFA

389.Wt.37518/D161.1000.11/63.C.P.L.Gp.626.

1076

INWARD TELEGRAM

En Clair
Code Code R
Cypher
(Paraphrase Heading)
Cypher/OTP
En Clair by Conf. Bag

C Y / Cat A

[Distribution Heading]

FROM FO TO RABAT.

[Signature]

[No. and prefix] No. 570 D M

[Date] 6 Nov R M

Repeated to

[Priority]

CONFIDENTIAL

FOLLOWING RECEIVED FROM TEL AVIV. ADDSD TO F O

TEL NO 1225 OF 6 NOV REPTD FOR INFMN ~~ATO~~

WASHINGTON UKMIS NEW YORK PARIS AMMAN BEIRUT

CAIRO ALGIERS KHARTOUM RABAT TRIPOLI TUNIS

AND JEDDA.

YOUR TELS NO 2317 AND 2318 ABOUT THE BALFOUR

CELEBRATIONS ONLY REACHED ME TODAY, 6 NOVEMBER.

DISTRIBUTION

1076/67

2. POSTMASTER GENERAL SPOKE EXTEMPORE FROM NOTES.

EXTRACTS OF WHICH ARE CONTAINED IN MY I F T.

THESE EXTRACTS WERE RELEASED TO THE PRESS IN

ADVANCE OF DELIVERY AGAINST TIME EMBARGO.

3. MR SHORT~S SPEECH WAS DELIVERED TOO LATE IN

THE EVENING OF 2 NOVEMBER TO BE REPORTED IN THE

MORNING PRESS ON 3 NOV. ONLY REFERENCE TO IT WAS

IN MAARIV OF 3 NOV-. THIS DEALT BRIEFLY WITH

POINTS MADE IN V AND D IN MIFT. NO PAPERS APPEAR

on Saturdays.

ADVANCE COPIES TO:—

389.Wt.37518/D161.1000.11/63.C.P.L.Gp.626.

ON SATURDAYS THE JEWISH SABBATH. AND NO FURTHER MENTION OF THE SPEECH WAS MADE IN THE PRESS ON SUNDAY 5 NOV. F O PASS BEIRUT 180.; ALGIERS 17. KHARTOUM 16. RABAT 14. TRIPOLI 19. TUNIS 19. JEDDA 29.

SOSFA

SERVICE TELEX

PRODROME RABAT
FOR 2/07 FOLDI GRS 520A

1076

PRIORITY FM TEL AVIV TO RABAT
TELNO.15 6 NOVEMBER 1967

Mr Walker
U.O.
8/11/67

ADDSD FO TEL NO 1226 OF 6/11 RFI WASHINGT, UKMIS NY, PARIS, AMMAN, BEIRUT, CAIRO, ALGIERS, KHARTOUM, RABAT, TRIPOLI, TUNIS, BENGHAZI, JEDDA.

MIPT. Mr. Lyon rec'd 8/11/67

EXTRACTS FROM POSTMASTER GENERAL'S SPEECH AT BALFOUR DINNER ON 2 NOVEMBER.

A. THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENTS OF ISRAEL IN THE LAST TWENTY YEARS HAVE EVOKED GREAT ADMITATION IN THE PEOPLE OF BRITAIN AS DOES THE LIVERY PRACTICE OF DEMOCRACY HERE AND ISRAEL'S OUTSTANDING CAPACITY FOR SOCIAL INNOVATION. THE WAY IN WHICH YOU HAVE LIVED WITH DANGER AND OVERCOME THE PHYSICAL DIFFICULTIES SINCE THE STATE WAS FORMED IS AN INSPIRATION TO THE WORLD. BUT THERE IS ALSO AN HISTORIC BOND, WHICH STEMS FROM THE BALFOUR DECLARATION, WHICH FORMS AN INTIMACY AND GIVES A PARTICULAR STRENGTH TO OUR RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL.

B. NO GOVT MORE DEEPLY DESIRES A JUST AND STABLE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST THAN THE BRITISH GOVT. THE INTERESTS OF FEW NATIONS OUTSIDE THE AREA CAN BE SO DAMAGED AS ARE THOSE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM BY THE CONTINUATION OF TENSION AND HOSTILITY HERE. THIS FACT IS OFTEN OVERLOOKED BY OUR CRITICS.

C. NEVER THE LESS, HAVING SAID THIS, I WISH TO MAKE IT CLEAR BEYOND DOUBT, THAT OUR POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS TO SEE A SOLUTION OF THE CONFLICTS IN THE AREA IN A JUST AND PERMANENT SETTLEMENT, JUST TO BOTH ISRAEL AND THE ARAB STATES. IT IS NOT TRUE- AND NEVER HAS BEEN- THAT WE WOULD BE WILLING TO SELL ISRAEL DOWN THE RIVER FOR OUR OWN COMMERCIAL INTERESTS. IT IS TRUE THAT THE CONTINUED CLOSURE OF THE SUEZ CANAL COSTS US A GREAT DEAL- PROBABLY MORE THAN ANY OTHER NATION. BUT THIS FACT-IMPORTANT THOUGH IT IS- DOES NOT DICTATE OUR POLICY AND WE WOULD NOT WANT THE CANAL OPENED AT THE EXPENSE OF ISRAEL'S VITAL INTERESTS.

TELEX ◇ SERVICE TE

D. WE BELIEVE A SETTLEMENT SHOULD SECURE AMONG OTHER THINGS THE RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO AN INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE IN PEACE AND SECURITY-FREE FROM THE CONSTANT THREATS OF ANNIHILATION, SHOULD ENSURE THE RIGHTS OF FREE AND INNOCENT PASSAGE THROUGH INTERNATIONAL WATERS FOR SHIPS OF ALL NATIONS. I SHOULD BE LESS THAN HONEST IF I DID NOT SAY IT SHOULD ALSO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE INTEREST OF ARAB REFUGEES.
INDEED, THE BALFOUR DECLARATION ITSELF SAID THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE JEWISH NATIONAL HOME SHOULD BE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS RIGHTS OF THE EXISTING NON-JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN THE AREA.

E. IN REMEMBERING THE HISTORIC ~~(EPL)~~ OCCASION OF ~~THE~~ THE BALFOUR DECLARATION MAY I , ON BEHALF OF H M GOVT EXPRESS THE SINCERE HOPE THAT WE SHALL SOON SEE SOME PROGRESS TOWARDS A MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT. THIS, I KNOW, IS ARDENTLY DESIRED BY THE PEOPLE AND GOVT OF ISRAEL. GIVEN SUCH A SETTLEMENT THE STANDARD OF LIFE IN THE MIDDLE EAST COULD BE TRANSFORMED. THIS ALONE, OF ALL THE HOPES OF THOSE WHO WORKED TO ACHIEVE THE BALFOUR DECLARATION, REMAINS UNFULFILLED. I KNOW THIS IS NOT FOR LACK OF WILL ON ISRAEL'S PART. MAY I EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT YOU WILL USE YOUR PRESENT STRENGTH WITH MAGNANIMITY TO FIND A WAY OF MAKING PROGRESS TOWARDS PEACEFUL RELATIONS WITH YOUR NEIGHBOURS.

EADON

PRODROME RABAT
GVTHC PVSE
SENT AT 1700/07 ND

1076

Adj 1010
c.c 1076
c.c 1040
c.c 1310
c.c 1038 ✓
c 1003

CONFIDENTIAL
Minutes

Record of Conversation

I paid a call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs today on my return from leave and conversation.

After the usual opening remarks I started the conversation by saying that I was sorry to find on the Middle East scene there had been little progress during the three months of my absence. The situation was still tense and dangerous and a solution did not seem to be in sight. The Arab countries were raising the impression that the United States is particular and the Western world in general wished to inflict a humiliating settlement on the Arab world.

2. I said that, as far as my government was concerned, I was convinced that this was a wrong impression. We did not, I thought, regard ourselves as being principal performers in the drama that was being played out. The first role belonged to the countries which had taken part in the conflict, and chief of the second role to the two Super Powers. We were fully seized of the importance and urgency of reaching a permanent and satisfactory solution, without which there was a danger of a fresh outbreak of hostilities and their possible escalation. The attitude of the "Liberty" had highlighted this danger (and had, incidentally, made it more difficult to persuade the Israeli government to take a reasonable line). We were therefore using our good offices with the nations of the first and second rank, and indeed wherever we could inside the United Nations and outside, in order to try and bring about agreement on a satisfactory solution. It seemed to us that this must be sought in the Security Council; that it must be based on a balanced resolution by that body calling for the withdrawal of troops on the one hand and the recognition of the right of the Middle Eastern states, including Israel, to peace and security on the other, and that it could be best brought about by sending a representative of the United Nations to the region to help mediate a settlement. We thought it important that he should be backed up by a resolution which would be precise as to the principles involved but that the spelling of them out should be left to him to work out rather than being fought before his despatch. We hoped, I added, that our ability to help would be enhanced by our attempt to renew relations with the United Arab Republic and by our decision to accelerate our departure from Aden.

3. Mr. Lorenz said that the King had noted our endeavours with satisfaction. He hoped moreover that our efforts would be very successful [illegible]. So far all

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

the concessions seemed to have come from the Arab side. If the United Nations failed to take effective action, the consequences, he said, would be two-fold. Hitherto the moderate Arab countries had been using their influence in the Arab world in favour of a peaceful solution negotiated through the United Nations. If this failed, they would have no alternative but to rally to the opinion of the extremist countries, that war was the only solution. Secondly, Nasser's position in Egypt depended upon effective action by the United Nations. Failing that, there could be little doubt that he would be overthrown and replaced either by a Moslem Brotherhood type of government or by a régime which would be virtually controlled from Moscow: in either case, Egypt would become a second Syria.

5. Such a resolution as we, however, have no chance of acceptance on the Arab side unless it called in specific and unequivocal language for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all positions occupied since the beginning of the crisis, including Jerusalem. Vague references to the Charter of the United Nations, such as the U.S. Government were proposing, would not be good enough. I intervened at this point to say that the recognition of Israel's right to peace and security would have to be no less precise. He made no direct comment on this but went on to say that the recent decision of the U.S. Government to resume arms shipments to Israel (he did not mention Morocco) had not improved the chances of reaching agreement. He continued that if agreement could be reached on the lines which H.M. Government favoured there would be advantage in giving the United Nations representative not detailed instructions by way of resolution but a general indication of the broad right lines of his mediatory efforts: the balanced approach would have to continue after his appointment. Dr. Waldheim thought that it would be profitable if the U.N. representative started his task by touring simultaneously in Israel, to call for positive measures to deal with the refugee problem, and in Egypt, for positive measures to clear the Suez Canal and restore the principle of freedom of navigation for the ships of all nations including Israel.

6. Turning to bilateral relations I told the Minister that I had discussed these at some length and that I had found an interest and interest in making progress bilaterally. More frequent visits and at a higher level might, for example, help. Our economic difficulties, as he would know, continued. This was indeed in part a consequence of the Arab-Israeli war and of the heavy extra charge for oil on our balance of payments. Nevertheless the question of our being able to give

/development.

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NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

development assistance to Morocco was under constant review. There were, I suggested, one or two steps which the Moroccan Government themselves might take. They had said in general terms that they were anxious to obtain development assistance from us but it might help to concentrate our thoughts if they were to be more specific. We agreed that the next meeting of the Consultative Group and the publication of the Five-Year Plan might provide opportunities for this kind of approach. The Minister added that he understood our difficulties and our prior commitments. They were, however, anxious to strengthen their links with Western Europe and placed great honour on us. Morocco had ceased to be a French preserve. I also alluded to the lack of progress over our Technical Assistance Agreement and the Minister promised to give instructions to his staff to accelerate these negotiations. Finally I mentioned the special effort which Ireland had made to respond to the Moroccan Government's appeal for assistance in devising a radar defence system. We would be glad to see progress on this front also.

7. In conclusion I asked the Minister if he wished to comment on the situation in the Yemen and on Moroccan-Algerian relations.

8. As regards the Yemen, the Minister said that the Tripartite Commission had formed one clear impression: that all Yemenis were fed up with Sallal. It had therefore been said to Nasser that in the interests of progress over the Yemeni problem he might wish to reconsider his support for Sallal. The events of the last 24 hours had thus come as no surprise to Dr. Loraki. He anticipated that the group which had carried out the coup d'état had announced on their own initiative that they wished to have conversations with the Royalists with a view to setting up by agreement "the State of Yemen" which would not be by definition either Royalist or Republican. King Faisal had told the Minister that he would be satisfied with this: "the Yemen for the Yemenis" was his motto.

9. Relations with Algeria remained as tense as ever. There had been a really serious incident on 13 October when seven Mokhazeni were captured in the course of an Algerian raid into Moroccan territory near Ksar-es-Souk. This had been settled by the release of the Moroccans after the matter had been raised in the Security Council. He confirmed that I was right in thinking that the visit of M. Alaoui and General Mezziane and the appointment of M. Filali as Ambassador all indicated the continued desire of King Hassan to come to an understanding with the Algerians. Unfortunately there was still no indication whatsoever that the Algerian Government

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

A.G.56.

were prepared to respond to these overtures. Their repressive policy towards Moroccans resident in Algeria, for example, continued unabated.

10. The conversation concluded by the Minister accepting an invitation to dinner and expressing the hope that this might be soon, before Ramadan.

(L.B. Holliday)
6 November 1967

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

1076

INWARD TELEGRAM

En Clair
Code Code R
Cypher
(Paraphrase Heading)
Cypher/OTP
En Clair by Conf. Bag

Cypher/EAT A

[Distribution Heading]

FROM F.D. TO RABAT.

[Signature]

[No. and prefix] No. GUIDANCE 285 D M

[Date] 7 Nov 1967 R M

Repeated to

[Priority] PRIORITY

27/11/67

CONFIDENTIAL.

ARAB/ ISRAEL: BALFOUR DECLARATION.

GUIDANCE NO 285.(NOT TO ALL).

NEW YORK TIMES HAS REPORTED SPEECH BY LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL MR. CROSSMAN, ON 5 NOVEMBER UNDER THE HEADLINES ~~ CHANGE IS INDICATED IN BRITISH POLICY IN MID EAST~~ AND ~~ BROWN AND WILSON ARE SAID TO HAVE TOLD EBAN OF SHIFT ON DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS~~.

2. THERE IS NO TRUTH IN THESE SUGGESTIONS. BRITISH POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST REMAINS UNCHANGED AS FOREIGN SECRETARY STATED IT IN THE GENERAL ASEMBLY ON 26 SEPTEMBER (VERBATIM 373). AND IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON 9th/11 2 NOVEMBER (VERBATIM 422)

3. THE CRUCIAL PASSAGE OF MR. CROSSMAN~S SPEECH. PART OF WHICH WAS QUOTED TO INDICATE A

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ADVANCE COPIES TO:—

389.Wt.37518/D161.1000.11/63.C.P.L.Gp.626.

telegram change

CHANGE OF POLICY. WAS: ~~ I AM NO BELIEVER IN EASY SOLUTIONS OR QUICK PEACEMAKING. BUT I AM CONVINCED THAT THERE IS NOW REAL CHANCE OF PEACE IF ONLY THE GREAT POWERS. WORKING THROUGH THE UNITED NATIONS. CAN BE CONTENT NOT TO INTERVENE AND IMPOSE THEIR OWN PEACE. BUT TO CREATE THE CONDITIONS WHERE ARAB AND JEW FREELY NEGOTIATE A SETTLEMENT WHICH THEY WILL KEEP BECAUSE IT IS THEIR OWN SETTLEMENT AND NOT ONE IMPOSED FROM OUTSIDE~~.

4. IF PRESSED ON THIS, YOU SHOULD EMPHASIZE THAT THE CRUCIAL PHRASE IS ~~ WORKING THROUGH THE UNITED NATIONS TO CREATE THE CONDITIONS WHERE, ETC.~~ THIS FORMULATION, WHICH WOULD COVER NEGOTIATION UNDER U.N. AUSPICES, AVOIDS ENDORSEMENT OF THE ISRAEL DEMAND FOR DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS NOW. NEWS DEPARTMENT ARE TAKING THE LINE THAT IT IS ENTIRELY CONSISTENT WITH OUR POLICY AS SET OUT IN THE SPEECHES REFERRED TO IN PARAGRAPH 2.

SOSFA.

F.O. TEL. No. A/N SAVING to Rabat 1076.

BY BAG SAVING TELEGRAM

AZS 15.XI

FOREIGN OFFICE TO ABIDJAN

Telno 48 Saving 8 November 1967 (JIPGD)

UNCLASSIFIED

Addressed to Abidjan telegram No.48 Saving of 8 November.
Repeated for information Saving to Other Posts.

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY 14 NOV 1967

MIDDLE EAST TALKING POINTS
9 November 1967

The only non-Communist Heads of State who accepted invitations to attend the October Revolution 50th anniversary celebrations in Moscow were President Kekkonen of Finland (invited on 23 October) and President Sallal of the Yemen. Kekkonen attended, but Sallal was overthrown on 5 November while he was in Baghdad. His visit to Moscow was cancelled. Cairo Radio reported on 3 October that Sallal would be visiting Moscow in November.

Egyptian officials estimate that the damage to the Suez oil refineries amounts to £178.8 million, without taking account of the cost to the economy or the disruption in oil refining. according to the Manchester "Guardian" on 27 October. The same paper reported on 25 October that the Suez refineries supplied 5 million tons of Egypt's annual consumption of 6.5 million tons. The remaining 1.5 million tons are refined at the Alexandria plant, the only one still operating in Egypt, but running below capacity owing to the closure of the Suez Canal.

The Beirut paper Beiraq on 28 October expressed the opinion that the Soviet Fleet has taken over policing operations from the United States Sixth Fleet in the (Mediterranean) area. Another Beirut paper, Hayat, said on the same day it believed that the aim of the present Soviet naval visit to Egyptian ports was to deter Egypt from attacking Israel.

"After four months it is obvious that President Nasser has overplayed the Suez Canal's closure as a reprisal against the Western maritime Powers in the blind belief that it would involve them in a crisis similar to that of 11 years ago. Instead, it has simply caused a certain measure of inconvenience, the effects of which will lessen the longer Nasser chooses to delay re-opening the Canal". The Times of Zambia, 26 October.

All India Radio reported on 26 October that East European countries are understood to have agreed to bear part of the increased freight on Indian goods following the closure of the Suez Canal. The radio said that according to official New Delhi sources "the closure has resulted in the increase of 30 per cent of the freight rate to these countries, making Indian goods non-competitive". The broadcast added that to remove such impediments in the

in the way of a free-flow of trade, India already has Ministerial level committees in Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, the UAR, and a study group in Poland.

"The Arab League is grateful to Tunisia and to President Bourguiba, whose attitudes have greatly served the common Arab cause". Sayed Nofal, the Arab League's Assistant Secretary General, on arrival in Tunis, 27 October.

The Libyan Government has issued orders for the payment of 5,277,777 Libyan pounds to the UAR and 2,022,000 Libyan pounds to Jordan, as first instalments of the £30 million Libya is to pay these countries, in accordance with the Khartoum summit conference resolution. Regional News Service, reporting from Tripoli, 26 October.

Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Libya are to pay Egypt £95 million annually "until the consequences of the Israeli aggression are eliminated". The method of payment, reported by the Cairo paper Al Ahram on 17 October, will be: Kuwait, £3,250,000 every month; Saudi Arabia £8,750,000 every three months, and Libya £5,200,000 sterling every three months.

Describing the reaction abroad to the attempt by Egyptian officers to seize the supreme command of the armed forces, the Editor of Al Ahram, Mohammed Hasanayn Heykal, wrote on 27 October: "Our friends abroad, headed by the Soviet Union, held their hands to their hearts in pity. They moved, however, with noted hesitation".

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J.I.P.G.D.

vvvvv

Reference 1076

Cofidential.

The assesment of the Jerusalem planners, as given in para. 10 of the despatch, that the West bank must have cost the Jordanian Government a deficit of $31 million a year before the war is both odd and interesting. If the assesment as it stands was correct, Jordan, barring the extra burden of refugees that she now has to bear, would be economically more viable than she was before the war, which is patently not the case. While the West Bank may have provided the East Bank with agricultural products at an internal deficit, these, owing to the clandestine export of the products from the occupied West Bank have not ceased, so that there should be no further drain on the Jordanian external account produced by the need to import those agricultural products that 'used to come' from the West bank, from other arab countries, such as the Lebanon. One can only hope that the Israelis calculations on the economic aspect of the continued occupation of the West Bank will, added to the security and political calculations that they must have made, add up to a very strong argument that an early withdrawal is necessary.

J.F. Walker.
(9 November.)

H.E. ✓
L.O. 10/11/67
F. S. (E) 11/11/67
O.S.C.R.
ALS 13.XI

Ed (1626)

SERVICE TELEX

PRODROME RABAT
FOR3/11 FOLDN GRS 3[illegible]2A

1076

PRIORITY FOREIGN OFFICE TO PRODROME RABAT
TELNO. 574 10 NOVEMBER 1967

A.L Souttar 13.XI
H. H. Ellis
H.E. has seen
L.O.

FOLLOWING RCVED FROM UKMIS NEW YORK
ADDRESSED TO FOREIGN OFFICE TELEGRAM NO 3[illegible]76 OF 7 NOVEMBER
FOR INFO TO WASHINGTON, TELAVIV, MOSCOW, AMMAN, CAIRO AND SAVING TO
PARIS, BEIRUT.
MY TELEGRAM NO 3074: MIDDLE EAST.
FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF UNITED STATES DRAFT RESOLUTION TABLED
TODAY:
THE SECURITY COUNCIL,
EXPRESSING ITS CONTINUING CONCERN WITH THE GRAVE SITUATION
IN THE MIDDLE EAST,
RECALLING ITS RESOLUTION 233 (1967) ON THE OUTBREAK OF
FIGHTING WHICH CALLED, AS A FIRST STEP, FOR AN IMMEDIATE
CEASEFIRE AND FOR A CESSATION OF ALL MILITARY ACTIVITIES
IN THE AREA;
RECALLING FURTHER GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 2256 (ES-V),
EMPHASIZING THE URGENCY OF REDUCING TENSIONS AND BRINGING
ABOUT A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN WHICH EVERY STATE IN THE
AREA CAN LIVE IN SECURITY,
EMPHASIZING FURTHER THAT ALL MEMBER STATES IN THEIR ACCEPTANCE
OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS HAVE UNDERTAKEN
A COMMITMENT TO ACT IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 2 OF THE CHARTER,
1. AFFIRMS THAT THE FULFILMENT OF THE ABOVE CHARTER
PRINCIPLES REQUIRES THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A STATE OF JUST AND LASTING
PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST EMBRACING WITHDRAWAL OF ARMED FORCES
FROM OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, TERMINATION OF CLAIMS OR STATES OF
BELLIGERENCE, AND MUTUAL RECOGNITION AND RESPECT FOR THE RIGHT
OF EVERY STATE IN THE AREA TO SOVEREIGN EXISTENCE , TERRITORIAL
INTEGRITY, POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE, SECURE AND RECOGNIZED
BOUNDARIES, AND FREEDOM FROM THE THREAT OR USE OF FORCE:
2. AFFIRMS FURTHER THE NECESSITY
A. FOR GUARANTEEING FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION THROUGH INTERNATIONAL

WATERWA[illegible]

TELEX ◇ SERVICE TE

B. FOR ACHIEVING A JUST SETTLEMENT OF THE REFUGEE PROBLEM:
C. FOR GUARANTEEING THE TERRITORIAL INVIOLABILITY AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF EVERY STATE IN THE AREA, THROUGH MEASURES INCLUDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DEMILITARIZED ZONES:
D. FOR ACHIEVING A LIMITATION OF THE WASTEFUL AND DESTRUCTIVE ARMS RACE IN THE AREA:
3. REQUESTS THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO DESIGNATE A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE TO PROCEED TO THE MIDDLE EAST TO ESTABLISH AND MAINTAIN CONTACTS WITH THE STATES CONCERNED WITH A VIEW TO ASSISTING THEM IN THE WORKING OUT OF SOLUTIONS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PURPOSES OF THIS RESOLUTION AND IN CREATING A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE AREA:
4. REQUESTS THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO REPORT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON THE PROGRESS OF THE EFFORTS OF THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE
SOSFA
V

PRODROME RABAT

SENT AT 0355/11 ND

PRODROME RABAT This is a strange draft for India to table
FOR 2/[illegible] FOLDN GRS 337 [illegible] para 1 (i) and 2 (ii) which conflicts with our past policies

A-L. Sowtkow 13/XI
H. of C. [illegible]
H.E. has seen
[illegible]

1076

PRIORITY FOREIGN OFFICE P TO PRODROME RABAT
TELNO.[illegible] 10 NOVEMBER 1967

FOLLOWING RCVED FROM UKMIS NEW YORK
ADDRESSED TO FOREIGN OFFICE TELEGRAM NO 3075 OF 7 NOVEMBER
RFI TO WASHINGTON, TEL AVIV, MOSCOW ,AMMAN, CAIRO AND SAVING
TO PARIS AND BEIRUT.
MY TELEGRAM NO 3074: MIDDLE EAST.
FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF DRAFT RESOLUTION TABLED BY INDIA
MALI AND NIGERIA TODAY:
THE SECURITY COUNCIL EXPRESSING ITS CONTINUING CONCERN WITH THE
GRAVE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST, RECALLING ITS RESOLUTION 233
(1967) OF JUNE 1967 ON THE OUTBREAK OF FIGHTING WHICH
CALLED FOR, AS A FIRST STEP, AN IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE AND FOR A
CESSATION OF ALL MILITARY ACTIVITIES IN THE AREA,
RECALLING FURTHER GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 2256 (ES-V),
EMPHASIZING THE URGENCY OF REDUCING TENSIONS, RESTORING PEACE
AND BRINGING ABOUT NORMALCY IN THE AREA,
1. AFFIRMS THAT A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST MUST
BE ACHIEVED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED
NATIONS AND MORE PARTICULARLY OF THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES:
(i) OCCUPATION OR ACQUISITION OF TERRITORY BY MILITARY
CONQUEST IS INADMISSABLE UNDER THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED
NATIONS AND CONSEQUENTLY ISRAEL'S ARMED FORCES SHOULD WITHDRAW
FROM ALL THE TERRITORIES OCCUPIED AS A RESULT OF THE RECENT
CONFLICT. II Likewise, every State has the right to live in peace and
[illegible] STATE HAS THE RIGHT TO LIVE IN PEACE AND

Yes.

GOA? HYDERABAD

SERVICE TELEX ◇ SERVICE TELEX ◇ SERVICE TELEX

II) LIKEWISE , EVERY STATE HAS THE [illegible]
COMPLETE SECURITY FREE FROM THREATS OR ACTS OF WAR AND
CONSEQUENTLY ALL STATES IN THE AREA SHOULD TERMINATE THE STATE
OR CLAIM OF BELLIGERENCY AND SETTLE THEIR INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES
BY PEACEFUL MEANS.
III) LIKEWISE , EVERY STATE OF THE AREA HAS THE RIGHT TO BE
SECURE WITHIN ITS BORDERS AND IT IS OBLIGATORY ON ALL MEMBER STATES
OF THE AREA TO RESPECT THE SOVEREIGNTY, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND
POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF ONE ANOTHER.
2. AFFIRMS FURTHER:
I) THERE SHOULD BE A JUST SETTLEMENT OF THE QUESTION OF
PALESTINE REFUGEES.
II) THERE SHOULD BE GUARANTEE OF FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION IN
ACCORDANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW THROUGH INTERNATIONAL
WATERWAYS IN THE AREA.
3. REQUESTS THE SECRETARY -GENERAL TO DESPATCH A SPECIAL
REPRESENTATIVE TO THE AREA WHO WOULD CONTACT THE STATES CONCERNED IN
ORDER TO COORDINATE EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE THE PURPOSES OF THIS
RESOLUTION AND TO SUBMIT A REPORT TO THE COUNCIL WITHIN 30 DAYS

SOSFA
BT

GRPS 357
NNNN

X
PRODROME RABAT
SENT AT 0540/11 ND

1076

INWARD TELEGRAM

En Clair
Code Code R
Cypher
(Paraphrase Heading)
Cypher/OTP
En Clair by Conf. Bag

Cypher/OTP

[Distribution Heading]

FROM F.O. TO RABAT

[Signature]

[No. and prefix] No. 576 D M

[Date] 10 NOV. R M

Repeated to see also Tel 575 below. Not seen until after T.Cs. 574 departure for the U.N.F.A. However we have to await further instructions before speaking to Mr. A.L. Southorn 13.XI H of C. H.E. has seen 11/67

[Priority] PRIORITY.

CONFL.

??

ADDSD TO WTON TEL NO 11847 OF 10/11 AND TO

MOSCOW PARIS OTTAWA TOKYO COPENHAGEN LAGOS NEW

DELHI SOFPA TEL AVIV CAIRO BEIRUT JEDDA AMMAN

KUWAIT RABAT TUNIS TRIPOLI KHARTOUM BUENOS AIRES

RIO DE JANWIRO ADDIS ABAVBA REPTD FOR INFMN TO

UKMIS NEW YORK BAHRAIN TEHRAN RAWALPINDI ANKARA

AND SAVING TO UKDEL NATI

DISTRIBUTION

MIDDLE EAST.

YOU WILL BE AWARE THAT CURRENT DISCUSSION IN THE

SECURITY COUNCIL ON THE ARAB/ISRAEL SITUATION IS

REVOLVING ROUND TWO ALTERNATIVE DRAFT RESOLUTIONS.

THE INDIAN WHICH IS ACCEPTABLE TO THE ARABS AND

THE SOVIET UNION, AND THE AMERICAN WITH WHICH THE

ISRAELIS SAY THEY CAN LIVE. (TEXTS ARE BEING

REPEATED TO POSTS WHICH HAVE NOT SO FAR HAD THEM).

THE ISRAELIS SAY THAT UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES WILL

They accept /

ADVANCE COPIES TO:—

389.Wt.37518/D161.1000.11/63.C.P.L.Gp.626.

THEY ACCEPT THE INDIAN DRAFT NOR WILL THEY COOPERATE WITH ANY ARRANGEMENTS MADE UNDER IT. THE ARABS ARE EQUALLY FIRM IN SAYING THAT THE INDIAN DRAFT EMBODIES VERY CONSIDERABLE CONCESSIONS ON THEIR PART. AND REPRESENTS THE FURTHEST LIMIT TO WHICH THEY WILL GO TO MEET THE ISRAELI POINT OF VIEW. WE ALSO HAVE REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE RUSSIANS WILL REFUSE ANY AMERICAN TEXT.

2. BOTH DRAFTS AIM TO SET OUT THE PRINCIPLES ON WHICH A SETTLEMENT SHOULD BE BASED IN A BALANCED WAY AND TO PROVIDE FOR THE APPOINT- MENT OF A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO GO TO THE MIDDLE EAST TO WORK TOWARDS A SETTLEMENT ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLES LAID DOWN IN THE RESOLUTION. THE MAIN DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THEM CENTRES ON THE EXACT WORDING TO BE USED FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL AND ON WHETHER THE SECRETARY- GENERAL~S REPRESENTATIVE SHOULD TRY TO PROMOTE A SETTLEMENT OR SHOULD. AS THE ISRAELIS WOULD LIKE. CONFINE HIMSELF TO ASSISTING THE PARTIES CONCERNED THEMSELVES TO REACH A SETTLEMENT.

3. IN OUR VIEW THE ESSENTIAL THING IS THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL SHOULD PASS A RESOLUTION WHICH

both sides /

BOTH SIDES CAN ACCEPT AS A BASIS FOR MAKING PROGRESS TOWARDS A SETTLEMENT. THIS IS A MORE IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION THAN THE PRECISE WORDING OF ANY RESOLUTION. WE OURSELVES COULD ACCEPT THE FORMULATION IN EITHER THE INDIAN OR THE AMERICAN DRAFT. BOTH OF WHICH WOULD IN OUR OPINION IN THEIR LATEST FORM PROTECT THE VITAL INTERESTS OF EITHER SIDE. BUT EVEN IF ONE OR OTHER WERE PASSED THIS WOULD SERVE NO PRACTICAL PURPOSE SINCE IT WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE EITHER TO THE ARABS OR ISRAELIS.

4. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES I HAVE IT IN MIND THAT OUR BEST COURSE WILL PROBABLY BE FOR LORD CARADON TO SAY THAT WHILE EITHER OF THE TWO DRAFTS WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO US. WE SEE NO VALUE IN VOTING FOR A DRAFT WHICH CAN IN THE END HAVE NO PRACTICAL EFFECT ON THE GROUND OWING TO ITS UNACCEPTABILITY TO ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER. AND THAT TO MAKE OUR OWN POSITION CLEAR HE WILL AT THE APPROPRIATE MOMENT TABLE A DRAFT EMBODYING OUR VIEW OF WHAT BOTH SIDES SHOULD BE ABLE TO GO ALONG WITH. FOR YOUR OWN INFORMATION. THIS WOULD BE CLOSER TO THE INDIAN THAN TO THE AMERICAN DRAFT IN FUNDAMENTALS. BUT

would use /

WOULD USE DIFFERENT LANGUAGE AT SOME KEY POINTS.

5. WE SHALL DISAPPOINT THE AMERICANS AND ISRAELIS ON THE ONE SIDE AND THE ARABS ON THE OTHER TO THE EXTENT THAT BOTH OF THEM ARE COUNTING ON OUR VOTE TO ACHIEVE SUCCESS FOR THE DRAFTS WHICH THEY FAVOUR. OUR ASSESSMENT IS, HOWEVER, THAT THE HARM WILL BE MINIMISED IF WE EMPHASIZE THAT OUR DECISION IS TAKEN PURELY BECAUSE OF THE NEED TO MAKE PROGRESS ON THE GROUND AND TO AVOID WASTING TIME ON PAPER EXERCISES WHICH WILL HAVE NO CONSTRUCTIVE EFFECT. BY TAKING THIS LINE IT IS JUST POSSIBLE THAT THE SUPPORTERS OF BOTH INDIAN AND AMERICAN DRAFTS WILL DECIDE TO BACK OUR COMPROMISE TEXT, THUS ENABLING A CONSTRUCTIVE RESULT TO EMERGE IN NEW YORK.

6. ON RECEIPT OF FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS YOU SHOULD BE READY TO EXPLAIN OUR ATTITUDE AT A SUITABLY HIGH LEVEL TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY IN THE COUNTRY TO WHICH YOU ARE ACCREDITED ON THE LINES WHICH LORD CARADON WILL BE USING (SEE PARA 4 ABOVE). THE TEXT HE TABLES WILL BE TELEGRAPHED TO YOU.

SOSFA

F.O. TEL. NO. 138 SAVING TO Rabat 1076

En Clair

CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Telno 1149 10 November, 1967 AZS 21.xi

UNCLASSIFIED

Addressed to F.O. telegram No. 1149 of 10 November
Repeated for information to:- U.K.Mis New York, Washington, Moscow, Paris and Saving to:- Algiers, Amman, Bahrain (Residency) Beirut, Benghazi, Jedda, Khartoum, Kuwait, Rabat, Tripoli, Tunis, Tel Aviv, LIC Aden, H.C. Aden (Personal) and JIC Nicosia.

Middle East.

Theme of Heikal's article today is that now United States has virtually blocked solution through United Nations, Egypt and the Arabs have no choice but to settle down to a long term political and ultimately military struggle against Israel and to a political and economic campaign against the United States. Fuller summary by bag.

F.O. please pass to U.K.Mis New York 138, Washington 130, Moscow 33, Paris 33 and Unnumbered Saving to Algiers, Amman, Bahrain (Residency) Beirut, Benghazi, Jedda, Khartoum, Kuwait, Rabat, Tripoli, Tunis, Tel Aviv, LIC Aden, HC Aden Personal and JIC Nicosia.

Mr. Tesh

[Repeated as requested]

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SAVINGRAM

FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

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F.O. TEL. No. 140 SAVING TO Rabat

BY BAG

Mr. Tesh

No. 8 Saving
10 November, 1967.

Despatched: 10 November, 1967.

ROUTINE

Addressed Foreign Office Saving telegram No.8 of 10 November, repeated for information Saving to UKMIS New York, Washington, Moscow, Paris, Algiers, Amman, Bahrain(Residency), Beirut, Benghazi, Jedda, Khartoum, Kuwait, Rabat, Tripoli, Tunis, Tel Aviv, LIC Aden, H.C.Aden(Personal) and JIC Nicosia.

My telegram to Foreign Office No.1149: Middle East. -1076

Following is summary of Heikal's weekly article of 10 November.

2. Now the chances of a solution through the United Nations have almost disappeared, due to U.S. action, the Arabs have no longer any alternative. This is not to say that they had any altervative but to try the means of political action over which the last five months have been spent, nor that those months had not borne some fruit in terms of external political support (including to some extent even Britain) and Arab solidarity, and the exposure of U.S. policy.

3. This does not mean an immediate attack on Israel. New weapons must be not only acquired but absorbed and a deterrent force must be built up which can reach every part of Israel (the "Eilat" incident is quoted as proof of the possibility of technical confrontation). As for the U.S.A., a clash is inevitable but need not be head on; the Arab weapons should be to ignore her, to deepen hatred for her policies (with consequent damage to her material interests in the Arab world), and to expose them throughout the Arab world.

4. Was time on the side of the Arabs? It was certainly not against them, nor in favour of Israel, which was over-extended, surrounded by a hostile and awakened nation without the past protection of an imperialist presence and burdened with a large and irreconcilable minority.

F.O. please pass Saving to UKMIS New York, Washington, Moscow, Paris, Algiers, Amman, Bahrain (Residency), Beirut, Benghazi, Jedda, Khartoum, Kuwait, Rabat, Tripoli, Tunis, Tel Aviv, LIC Aden, H.C. Aden (Personal) and JIC Nicosia.

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RECEIVED IN REGISTRY 20 NOV 1967

F.O. TEL. No. 139 ... SAVING TO Rabat

En Clair

1076

PRIORITY CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Telno 1159 13 November 1967

AAS 21.XI

UNCLASSIFIED

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 1159 of 13 November. Repeated for information Priority to UKMIS New York, Washington, routine Paris, Moscow and Saving to Algiers, Amman, Bahrain (Res.) Beirut, Benghazi, Jedda, Khartoum, Kuwait, Rabat, Tripoli, Tunis, Tel Aviv, LIC Aden, JIC Nicosia, HC Aden (Personal).

U.A.R. Press 11 - 13 November.

Main themes are.

Defiance of Security Council and world opinion by both United States and Israel, Russian friendship, forthcoming visit of Brezhnev, and Ali Sabry's report to the Cabinet last night on his return from Moscow, and new measures of domestic relaxation, reduction of working hours to their pre-June level and rapid review of sequestrations and of dismissals in public sector.

2. Treatment of South Arabia is mostly factual.

Foreign Office pass Saving to Algiers 14, Amman 13, Bahrain (Residency) c/n, Beirut 23, Benghazi 11, Jedda 19, Khartoum 10, Kuwait 11, Rabat 11, Tripoli 12, Tunis 11, Tel Aviv 16, LIC Aden 4, HC Aden (Personal) JIC Nicosia 4.

Mr. Tesh

[Repeated as requested]

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QQQQ

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

1076

CONFIDENTIAL.

Minutes.

The Middle East Crisis.

At my Dinner Party yesterday, Madame Sijelmassi, who is Jordanian by origin, told me that the King believes in the probability of fresh hostilities between Israel and Arabs. He has, therefore, advised her to bring over all her family from Jordan, and has promised to help them resettle in Morocco. He stressed the need for urgency and for liquidation of all their affairs at home.

Sijelmassi, Mestassi of Royal Protocol and Haj Zebdi of the Prefecture confirmed that the police precautions yesterday were on account of Mahjoub Ben Seddik's trial. However, they noted the absence of any excitement on the part of the public, which made the precautions rather unnecessary.

A. Marrouk

14/11/1967.

O.S. ALS 14.XI

H of S There were no more publicity at all for the hearing of H.E. the appeal, and the M.A.P. tape on the subject while mentioning that a French advocate was banned for pleading on Mahjoubi behalf because of a lack of Arabic, gave virtually no other information about the hearing of the appeal - except that it failed.

I have passed X on to Mr Sparks

J Hallen 14/11

M.F.P

1076

BRITISH EMBASSY
RABAT

14 November 1967

CONFIDENTIAL

Even small straws are sometimes useful indications which way the wind is blowing.

2. The new Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is friendly with Alice Massouh on account of a link between his wife's family and Mrs. Massouh's family. Mme. Sijilmassi is Jordanian by origin. When they were recently at Mrs. Massouh's house she told Mrs. Massouh that the King believes in the probability of fresh hostilities between Israel and the Arabs to the extent that he has advised her to bring her family from Jordan to Morocco and has promised to help them to resettle here. According to her he stressed the need for urgency and advised them to liquidate all their affairs at home in Jordan.

(L.G. Holliday)

D.J. Speares, Esq.,
North and East African Department.

CONFIDENTIAL

Handed to M. Mohamed Bejaoui, Middle East Division, MFA, yesterday. 10.7.6

ALS 21.XI

TEXT OF LORD CARADON'S SPEECH IN SECURITY COUNCIL ON 15 NOVEMBER.

We have for long been anxious to see this Council take action. We have long maintained that the Council should have met much earlier and acted much sooner. There have been dreadful and damaging delays and persistent and frustrating disagreements. But now there is a realisation amongst all of us - of this I am sure - that the time to decide has come.

This week we must conclude our debate. This week we hope to see the worl of finding a way to permanent peace transferred from this Council to the Middle East. This week we hope to see an end of talk here and the beginning of action on the ground.

Having listened to the speech of the distinguished representative of Syria, I would only say that a just settlement will not be found or facilitated by partisan speeches directed not towards finding a basis for peace but to the perpetuation of discord, discontent and deadlock. We in this Council have a very different purpose, a very different obligation, a very different duty.

I think that we members of this Council are all very conscious of the momentous responsibility which lies on us at this time. We believe that within the next few fateful days we can take a new road forward leading to justice and peace. We know that the alternative is to stumble back again hopelessly and miserably along the tragic road which the peoples of the Middle East have travelled for the past two decades - the road of hate and suffering.

/Before.....

Before this week is over we shall decide whether to take the road forward or the road back. On that decision the hopes and fate and indeed the lives of countless innocent people will depend.

If we were to fail now the representatives with us from all the countries concerned would go hime to a terrible future. A future of renewed belligerence, of mounting hostility and all-pervading fear and the certainty that death and destruction will before long return.

It is within the next few days that we here have it in our power to decide whether the peoples of the Middle East set out next wee on a road of hope or on a road of despair.

The extent of the danger is the extent of our opportunity and I confidently maintain that there is sure, sound, common ground on which we can go forward.

The Arab countries insist that we must direct our special attention to the recovery and restoration of their territories, the issue of withdrawal is to them of top priority.

The Arabs want not charity but justice. They seek a just settlement to end the long and bitter suffering of the refugees. There is a recognition on all sides that a new, comprehensive, imaginative plan, as we have advocated, to deal with this desperately urgent problem is essential.

The Israelies tell us that withdrawal must never be to the old precarious truce. It must be to a permanent peace, to secure boundaries, to a new era of freedom from the use or the threat or the fear of hostility and force.

TEXT OF UNITED KINGDOM DRAFT RESOLUTION IN SECURITY COUNCIL.

(A) The Security Council,

(1) Expressing its continuing concern with the grave situation in the Middle East,

(2) emphasising the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every state in the area can live in security,

(3) emphasising further that all member states in their acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations have undertaken a commitment to act in accordance with Article 2 of the Charter,

1. Affirms that the fulfilment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles.

(1) Withdrawal of Isreli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict.

(ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognised boundaries free from threats or acts of force.

2. Affirms further the necessity (A)...

(A) For guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area;

(B) for achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem;

(C) for guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every state in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones.

3. Request the Secretary General to designate a special representative to proceed to the Middle East to establish and maintain contacts with the states concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles in this Resolution.

4. Requests the Secretary General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the efforts of the special representative as soon as possible.

Traduction non-officielle

LE MOYEN ORIENT

TEXTE D'UN PROJET DE RÉSOLUTION SOUMIS AU CONSEIL DE SÉCURITÉ PAR LA GRANDE BRETAGNE

Le Conseil de Sécurité

- exprimant son souci continu quant à la situation sérieuse au Moyen Orient;
- soulignant l'inadmissibilité de l'acquisition de territoires au moyen de la guerre, et la nécessité d'oeuvrer pour une paix durable et équitable au sein de laquelle tout état dans ladite région peut vivre en sécurité;
- soulignant, de plus, que tous les états-membres, par leur acceptation de la Charte des Nations Unies, ont entrepris de se conformer à l'Article 2 de la Charte;
- affirme que la mise en vigueur des principes de la Charte nécessite l'établissement d'une paix durable et équitable au Moyen Orient, qui devrait englober l'application des deux principes suivants :

(I) retrait des forces armées israéliennes des territoires occupés au cours du récent conflit;

(2) terminaison de toutes revendications ou états de belligérence, et respect et reconnaissance de la souveraineté, intégrité territoriale et indépendance politique de tout état dans la région, et son droit de vivre en paix dans des frontières sûres et reconnues, sans avoir à redouter des menaces ou actes de violence;

- affirme, de plus, la nécessité :

(A) de garantir la liberté de navigation dans les voies d'eau internationales de la région;

(B) d'arriver à un règlement équitable du problème des réfugiés;

/..(C)

(6) de garantir l'inviolabilité territoriale et l'indépendance politique de tous les états dans la région, au moyen de mesures comprenant l'établissement de zones démilitarisées.

- prie le Secrétaire-Général de nommer un représentant spécial pour se rendre au Moyen Orient afin d'établir et maintenir des contacts avec les états intéressés, dans le but de promouvoir un accord, et de contribuer aux efforts vers un règlement pacifique et agréé, en conformité avec les principes et les stipulations de la présente Résolution;

- prie le Secrétaire-Général de communiquer au Conseil de Sécurité les progrès des efforts faits par le représentant spécial, et de faire cette communication le plus tôt possible.

Le 17 Novembre 1967.

Traduction non-officielle

TEXTE D'UN DISCOURS FAIT PAR LORD CARADON AU CONSEIL DE SECURITÉ

LE 15 NOVEMBRE 1967.

Je désire parler brièvement ce matin de la nécessité d'une action urgente et efficace.

Depuis longtemps nous avons été désireux de voir ce Conseil agir. Nous avons longtemps soutenu que le Conseil aurait dû se réunir beaucoup plus tôt et agir également plus tôt. Il y a eu des délais terribles et endommageants, et des désaccords persistants et décevants. Mais maintenant il existe la réalisation parmi nous tous - de cela je suis certain - que le temps de la décision est venu.

Cette semaine nous devons conclure notre débat. Cette semaine nous espérons voir les travaux pour trouver un moyen d'arriver à une paix permanente, être transférés de ce Conseil au Moyen Orient. Cette semaine nous espérons voir la fin des entretiens ici et le début d'action sur les lieux.

Ayant écouté le discours du représentant distingué de la Syrie, je veux seulement dire qu'un règlement équitable ne sera pas effectué ou facilité par des discours de parti pris dont le but n'est pas de trouver une base de paix, mais de perpétuer le désaccord, le mécontentement et l'impasse. Nous, au sein de ce Conseil, avons un but bien différent, une obligation bien différente et un devoir bien différent.

Je crois que nous, membres du Conseil, sommes tous très conscients de la responsabilité capitale qui nous incombe à cette heure. Nous croyons que, au cours des prochains jours fatidiques, nous pouvons nous engager sur un nouveau chemin menant à la justice et à la paix. Nous savons que l'alternative est de trébucher en arrière, sans espoir et sans joie, sur la route tragique parcourue au cours des deux dernières décennies par les peuples du Moyen Orient - la route de la haine et de la souffrance.

/..Avant

Avant que cette semaine ne se soit écoulée, nous déciderons si nous prenons le chemin en avant ou le chemin en arrière. Sur cette décision dépendront les espoirs, le destin, et même les vies, de personnes innocentes innombrables.

Si nous faillissions maintenant, les représentants auprès de nous de tous les pays intéressés rentreraient chez eux pour faire face à un avenir terrible - un avenir de belligérence renouvelée, d'hostilité croissante, de peur continuelle, ainsi que la certitude que la mort et la destruction reapparaîtront sous peu.

C'est au cours des quelques jours à venir que nous ici, avons le pouvoir de décider si les peuples du Moyen Orient se mettront en marche la semaine prochaine sur la route de l'espoir ou bien sur la route du désespoir.

L'étendue du danger équivaut à l'étendue de l'occasion qui s'offre à nous - et je soutiens avec confiance qu'il existe un terrain sûr, solide et commun sur lequel nous pouvons avancer.

Les pays arabes insistent que notre attention doit être tout spécialement dirigée vers la récupération et la restitution de leurs territoires. Pour eux le problème du retrait est la question primordiale.

Les arabes ne demandent pas la charité mais la justice. Ils cherchent un règlement équitable pour mettre fin aux souffrances longues et cruelles des réfugiés. Il est reconnu de tous les côtés que, comme nous l'avons préconisé, qu'un nouveau plan d'ensemble, faisant preuve de nouvelles idées, est essentiel pour régler ce problème d'une urgence désespérée.

Les Israéliens nous disent que le retrait ne doit pas aboutir à l'ancienne trêve précaire. L'aboutissement doit être à une paix permanente, à des frontières sûres, à une nouvelle ère de liberté où n'existeront ni l'emploi ni la menace de la peur, de l'hostilité et de la force.

/.. Tous

Tous les deux ont raison, et les objectifs des deux parties ne se contrarient pas, au contraire ils convergent, se complémentant et s'appuient l'un sur l'autre. S'imaginer que l'on puisse être en sécurité si l'autre ne l'est pas, est une illusion. Les deux buts ont une validité égale et sont d'une nécessité égale.

Les consultations récentes, menées avec tant d'énergie et de continuité, renforcent avec poids ma conviction que nous, dans ce Conseil, possédons une occasion suprême de servir les intérêts de tous les intéressés. Chaque jour il apparaît de plus en plus clairement ce qui doit être fait. Chaque jour il apparaît de plus en plus clairement que nous ne nous occupons pas d'intérêts en conflit mais d'intérêts complémentaires. La justice et la paix ne sont pas en conflit; elles sont tout autant inséparables qu'elles sont indispensables - l'une doit aller la main dans la main de l'autre.

Puisqu'il y a tant dans la balance, puisque l'accord entre nous tous est si proche, puisque le besoin est d'une urgence si désespérée, puisque à ce moment critique nous ne devons pas faillir, je désire instamment vous suggérer, Monsieur, ainsi qu'à mes collègues de ce Conseil, que dès la fin de notre débat ce matin, nous devrions immédiatement réserver une brève période de temps pour la conclusion de nos consultations.

Je suggère que nous nous réunissions à nouveau demain après-midi ou Vendredi matin, et que, entretemps, nous faisions un effort final, suprême et couronné de succès, pour laisser de côté toutes nos différences - dont un grand nombre sont dans les mots et non dans la substance - et que nous concentrions nos efforts sur le terrain commun de buts et de principes convenus.

J'espère qu'avant la fin de cette semaine, nous aurons pris la décision peut-être la plus importante que les Nations Unies aient jamais prise. J'espère que lorsque viendra la fin de cette semaine, nous aurons pris le premier pas essentiel pour prodiguer à des peuples ayant vécu trop longtemps

/..dans

dans l'inimitié, les bénédictions d'un règlement équitable et pacifique.

Nous devons voter une Résolution; j'espère que nous pourrons le faire à l'unanimité. Ce sera là la meilleure façon de nous acquitter de nos responsabilités, et de le faire d'une telle façon qu'une action efficace s'ensuive, dans l'intérêt de tous les peuples intéressés. Nous ne rechercherons pas tout simplement des victoires de votes. Nous ne rechercons pas une victoire à New York mais dans le Moyen Orient. Ce à quoi nous devons certainement nous efforcer c'est de mettre tout le poids de ce Conseil dans une action urgente et efficace afin d'arriver à une paix durable et équitable.

Traduction non-officielle

1076

LE MOYEN ORIENT

TEXTE D'UN PROJET DE RÉSOLUTION SOUMIS AU CONSEIL DE SÉCURITÉ
PAR LA GRANDE BRETAGNE

Le Conseil de Sécurité

- exprimant son souci continu quant à la situation sérieuse au Moyen Orient;
- soulignant l'inadmissibilité de l'acquisition de territoires au moyen de la guerre, et la nécessité d'oeuvrer pour une paix durable et équitable au sein de laquelle tout état dans ladite région peut vivre en sécurité;
- soulignant, de plus, que tous les états-membres, par leur acceptation de la Charte des Nations Unies, ont entrepris de se conformer à l'Article 2 de la Charte;
- affirme que la mise en vigueur des principes de la Charte nécessite l'établissement d'une paix durable et équitable au Moyen Orient, qui devrait englober l'application des deux principes suivants :
  (I) retrait des forces armées israéliennes des territoires occupés au cours du récent conflit;
  (2) terminaison de toutes revendications ou états de belligérence, et respect et reconnaissance de la souveraineté, intégrité territoriale et indépendance politique de tout état dans la région, et son droit de vivre en paix dans des frontières sûres et reconnues, sans avoir à redouter des menaces ou actes de violence;
- affirme, de plus, la nécessité :
  (A) de garantir la liberté de navigation dans les voies d'eau internationales de la région;
  (B) d'arriver à un règlement équitable du problème des réfugiés;

/..(C)

(6) de garantir l'inviolabilité territoriale et l'indépendance politique de tous les états dans la région, au moyen de mesures comprenant l'établissement de zones démilitarisées.

- prie le Secrétaire-Général de nommer un représentant spécial pour se rendre au Moyen Orient afin d'établir et maintenir des contacts avec les états intéressés, dans le but de promouvoir un accord, et de contribuer aux efforts vers un règlement pacifique et agréé, en conformité avec les principes et les stipulations de la présente Résolution;
- prie le Secrétaire-Général de communiquer au Conseil de Sécurité les progrès des efforts faits par le représentant spécial, et de faire cette communication le plus tôt possible.

Le 17 Novembre 1967.

SERVICE TELEX ◇

PRODROME RABAT
PRODROME LONDON

Seen 1945 hrs. AZS 16.XI

FOR [illegible] GROUPS. [illegible]A.

1076

-IMMEDIATE RABAT TELEGRAM NO. [illegible] OF 16 NOVEMBER -[illegible]67-
IMMEDIATE FOREIGN OFFICE TO BEIRUT
TELEGRAM NUMBER 2723 16 NOVEMBER [illegible]67.

HE has seen
H. & C.

ADDRESSED TO BEIRUT TELEGRAM NUMBER 2723 OF 16 NOVEMBER AND TO CERTAIN OTHER POSTS AND SAVING TO STOCKHOLM.

MIDDLE EAST.

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF LORD CARADON'S SPEECH IN SECURITY COUNCIL ON [illegible] NOVEMBER.

"I WISH THIS MORNING TO SPEAK SHORTLY ON THE NEED FOR URGENT AND EFFECTIVE ACTION.

"WE HAVE FOR LONG BEEN ANXIOUS TO SEE THIS COUNCIL TAKE ACTION. WE HAVE LONG MAINTAINED THAT THE COUNCIL SHOULD HAVE MET MUCH EARLIER AND ACTED MUCH SOONER. THERE HAVE BEEN DREADFUL AND DAMAGING DELAYS AND PERSISTENT AND FRUSTRATING DISAGREEMENTS. BUT NOW THERE IS A REALISATION AMONGST ALL OF US - OF THIS I AM SURE - THAT THE TIME TO DECIDE HAS COME.

"THIS WEEK WE MUST CONCLUDE OUR DEBATE. THIS WEEK WE HOPE TO SEE THE WORK OF FINDING A WAY TO PERMANENT PEACE TRANSFERRED FROM THIS COUNCIL TO THE MIDDLE EAST. THIS WEEK WE HOPE TO SEE AN END OF TALK HERE AND THE BEGINNING OF ACTION ON THE GROUND.

"HAVING LISTENED TO THE SPEECH OF THE DISTINGUISHED REPRESENTATIVE OF SYRIA, I WOULD ONLY SAY THAT A JUST SETTLEMENT WILL NOT (RPT NOT) BE FOUND OR FACILITATED BY PARTISAN SPEECHES DIRECTED NOT (NOT) TOWARDS FINDING A BASIS FOR PEACE BUT TO THE PERPETUATION OF DISCORD, DISCONTENT AND DEADLOCK. WE IN THIS COUNCIL HAVE A VERY DIFFERENT PURPOSE, A VERY DIFFERENT OBLIGATION, A VERY DIFFERENT DUTY.

SERVICE TELEX ◇

SERVICE TELEX ◇ SERVICE TELEX ◇ SERVICE TELEX ◇

"I THINK THAT WE MEMBERS OF THIS COUNCIL ARE ALL VERY CONSCIOUS OF THE MOMENTOUS RESPONSIBILITY WHICH LIES ON US AT THIS TIME. WE BELIEVE THAT WITHIN THE NEXT FEW FATEFUL DAYS WE CAN TAKE A NEW ROAD FORWARD LEADING TO JUSTICE AND PEACE. WE MAINTAIN THAT THE ALTERNATIVE IS TO STUMBLE BACK AGAIN HOPELESSLY AND MISERABLY ALONG THE TRAGIC ROAD WHICH THE PEOPLES OF THE MIDDLE EAST HAVE TRAVELLED FOR THE PAST TWO DECADES - THE ROAD OF HATE AND SUFFERING.

"BEFORE THIS WEEK IS OVER WE SHALL DECIDE WHETHER TO TAKE THE ROAD FORWARD OR THE ROAD BACK. ON THAT DECISION THE HOPES AND FATE AND INDEED THE LIVES OF COUNTLESS INNOCENT PEOPLE WILL DEPEND.

"IF WE WERE TO FAIL NOW THE REPRESENTATIVES WITH US FROM ALL THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED WOULD GO HOME TO A TERRIBLE FUTURE - A FUTURE OF RENEWED BELLIGERENCE, OF MOUNTING HOSTILITY AND ALL-PERVADING FEAR AND THE CERTAINTY THAT DEATH AND DESTRUCTION WILL BEFORE LONG RETURN.

"IT IS WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS THAT WE HERE HAVE IT IN OUR POWER TO DECIDE WHETHER THE PEOPLES OF THE MIDDLE EAST SET OUT NEXT WEEK ON A ROAD OF HOPE OR ON A ROAD OF DESPAIR.

"THE EXTENT OF THE DANGER IS THE EXTENT OF OUR OPPORTUNITY, AND I CONFIDENTLY MAINTAIN THAT THERE IS SURE, SOUND, COMMON GROUND ON WHICH WE CAN GO FORWARD.

"THE ARAB COUNTRIES INSIST THAT WE MUST DIRECT OUR SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE RECOVERY AND RESTORATION OF THEIR TERRITORIES. THE ISSUE OF WITHDRAWAL IS TO THEM OF TOP PRIORITY.

"THE ARABS WANT NOT CHARITY BUT JUSTICE. THEY SEEK A JUST SETTLEMENT TO END THE LONG AND BITTER SUFFERING OF THE REFUGEES. THERE IS A RECOGNITION ON ALL SIDES THAT A NEW, COMPREHENSIVE, IMAGINATIVE PLAN, AS WE HAVE ADVOCATED, TO DEAL WITH THIS DESPERATELY URGENT PROBLEM IS ESSENTIAL.

"THE ISRAELIS TELL US THAT WITHDRAWAL MUST NEVER BE TO THE OLD PRECARIOUS TRUCE. IT MUST BE TO A PERMANENT PEACE, TO SECURE BOUNDARIES, TO A NEW ERA OF FREEDOM FROM THE USE OR THE THREAT OR THE FEAR OF HOSTILITY AND FORCE.

"BOTH ARE RIGHT. THE AIMS OF THE TWO SIDES DO NOT CONFLICT. THEY CONVERGE. THEY SUPPLEMENT AND THEY SUPPORT EACH OTHER. TO IMAGINE THAT ONE CAN BE SECURED WITHOUT THE OTHER IS A DELUSION. THEY ARE OF EQUAL VALIDITY AND EQUAL NECESSITY.

SERVICE ◇ TELEX ◇ SERVICE

''THE RECENT CONSULTATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN GOING FORWARD SO ENERGETICALLY AND CONTINUOUSLY STRONGLY REINFORCE MY CONVICTION THAT WE IN THIS COUNCIL NOW HAVE A SUPREME OPPORTUNITY TO SERVE THE INTERESTS OF ALL THOSE CONCERNED. EVERY DAY IT IS MORE CLEAR WHAT SHOULD BE DONE. EVERY DAY IT IS MORE APPARENT THAT WE ARE NOT DEALING WITH CONFLICTING INTERESTS BUT COMPLEMENTARY INTERESTS. JUSTICE AND PEACE ARE NOT IN CONFLICT. THEY ARE AS INSEPARABLE AS THEY ARE INDISPENSABLE. ONE MUST GO HAND IN HAND WITH THE OTHER.

SINCE SO MUCH IS AT STAKE, SINCE AGREEMENT BETWEEN US ALL IS SO NEAR, SINCE THE NEED IS SO DESPERATELY URGENT AND SINCE WE MUST NOT FAIL AT THIS CRITICAL TIME I WISH MOST SARNESTLY TO PUT IT TO YOU, SIR, AND TO MY FELLOW MEMBERS OF THIS COUNCIL THAT WHEN WE FINISH OUR DEBATE THIS MORNING WE SHOULD AT ONCE ALLOW A SHORT TIME TO CONCLUDE OUR CONSULTATIONS.

I WOULD SUGGEST THAT WE SHOULD RE-ASSEMBLE TOMORROW AFTERNOON OR ON FRIDAY MORNING AND THAT IN THE MEANTIME WE SHOULD MAKE A FINAL AND SUPREME AND SUCCESSFUL EFFORT TO SET ASIDE ALL DIFFERENCES, MANY OF WHICH ARE IN WORDING AND NOT IN SUBSTANCE, AND CONCENTRATE ON THE COMMON GROUND OF AGREED PURPOSE AND PRINCIPLE.

''I TRUST THAT BEFORE THIS WEEK IS OVER WE SHALL HAVE TAKEN PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT DECISION WHICH THE UNITED NATIONS HAS EVER TAKEN. I TRUST THAT BY THE END OF THIS WEEK WE SHALL HAVE TAKEN THE FIRST ESSENTIAL STEP TO BRING THE BLESSINGS OF A JUST AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT TO PEOPLES WHO HAVE LIVED IN ENMITY TOO LONG.

''WE MUST PASS A RESOLUTION. I HOPE WE CAN DO SO UNANIMOUSLY. THAT WILL BE THE BEST WAY TO DISCHARGE OUR RESPONSIBILITY AND TO DO SO IN SUCH A WAY THAT ACTION IS EFFECTIVE IN THE INTERESTS OF ALL THE PEOPLES CONCERNED. WE ARE NOT (RPT NOT) INTERESTED IN MERE VOTING VICTORIES. WE WANT NO (RPT NOT) A VICTORY IN NEW YORK BUT A SUCCESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. WHAT WE MUST SURELY STRIVE FOR IS TO PUT THE FULL WEIGHT OF THIS COUNCIL BEHIND URGENT EFFECTIVE ACTION TO ACHIEVE A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE.''

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CONFIDENTIAL

Despatch No. 42
(1073/67)

British Embassy,
Tel Aviv.

16 November, 1967.

The Second Arab/Israel War, 1967

The Aftermath: Political

S U M M A R Y

1. The euphoria in Israel following her victory has been replaced by a sense of frustration, a hardening attitude towards the Arabs and increasing acrimony in Israel's relations with some of her former friends. (Paragraph 1)

2. Both internally and externally Israel has met with unexpected difficulties. Consequently the sense of "Fortress Israel" has come to the top, as on previous occasions. (Paragraph 2).

3. Israel achieved her objectives in the War, and more. Her immediate reaction was that, surely, the Arabs had now learned their lesson and would negotiate. Had any Arab leader or leaders then come forward they would probably have received generous terms. (Paragraphs 3 and 4).

4. This euphoric period did not last. Israel's mood changed perceptibly in face of what she regarded as encouragement to the Arabs to believe that they had not really lost. (Paragraph 5)

5. The present Government, brought together under wartime conditions and headed by a weak and indecisive Prime Minister, was singularly unsuited for the prosecution of Israel's interests. In the internal political struggle which has been brought to the forefront by the post-war problems, Mr. Eshkol, Mr. Allon and General Dayan have vied with each other to demonstrate how tough they can be. The decisions about the return of refugees from Jordan and Jewish re-settlement of the Etzion bloc result from weakness and disunity in the Government. Yet they have been welcomed by a short-sighted press and public. (Paragraphs 6 and 7).

6. As prospects for a settlement come no nearer, a body of Israeli opinion has emerged in favour of retaining the occupied territories on security, religious or historical grounds. The "Movement for the Entire Land of Israel" is actively and successfully campaigning on a non-party basis for public support. (Paragraph 8)

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7. Israel's terms for a settlement have never been explicitly spelt out, but they will almost certainly be based on the principle that she will only accept arrangements giving advantages at least comparable with those she enjoys at present. (Paragraphs 9 and 10)

8. The Israelis' analysis of Arab psychology differs fundamentally from ours. They believe that magnanimity will be interpreted as weakness, but that if they stand firm the Arabs will sooner or later be forced to reach an accommodation with them. They see no good coming out of activities at the United Nations. British efforts in support of a Security Council resolution and our moves to restore diplomatic relations with Egypt are viewed with the gravest misgivings and have aroused hostile criticism. (Paragraphs 11, 12 and 13)

9. The Israelis would probably flout any United Nations resolution they considered unacceptable. (Paragraph 14).

10. Israel has come to attach more importance to security than to peace. In some ways she would prefer to see King Hussein and President Nasser go. Unless there is a breakthrough in the current situation, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that Israel's frontiers will get round the present ceasefire lines. Internal pressures (such as Arab sabotage and the problems of integrating one million additional Arabs) seem more likely than external ones to force Israel to alter her position. But even so they are not likely to make Israel move in a hurry. (Paragraphs 15 and 16)

11. Israel is not unduly worried by prognostications of a further "round" with the Arabs while she stands in a position to march on the neighbouring Arab capitals. This facile attitude rests on several dangerous assumptions and gives little hope of any inclination to flexibility which could give cause for optimism. Russian objectives are not clear, but in any event the prospects over the next few years for British interests in the Middle East are discouraging. (Paragraphs 17 and 18).

CONFIDENTIAL

British Embassy,
Tel Aviv.

Despatch No. 42
(1073/67)

16 November, 1967.

Sir,

The Second Arab/Israel War, 1967
The Aftermath: Political

The general sense of euphoria and magnanimity which engulfed Israel on the morrow of victory has gradually given way to a growing sense of frustration as the peace which then seemed within grasp continues to elude her. The intervening months have been characterised by a hardening attitude towards the Arabs and increasing acrimony in Israel's relations with some of her former friends. I have the honour to review the developments which have led to this situation and to describe the prevailing mood in this country as it awaits the outcome of the current deliberations at the United Nations.

2. I noted at the end of my Despatch No. 19 that in modern wars "the losers have not really lost and the winners have not really gained. Certainly, the problems for the winners seem more difficult than those for the losers." The second part of this contention has so far proved all too well founded. Both internally and externally Israel has met with unexpected difficulties.

/The awkward,

The Right Honourable George A. Brown, M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.,
Foreign Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

The awkward, though valued, relationship with the Soviet Union has been broken. France, staunchest friend and ally, has deserted her. Her relations with Britain have deteriorated, as our inevitable need became apparent to redress our standing with the Arab states where our major interests lie. And, with the diversion of the West's attention to the problems of refugees, the future of Jerusalem, the fate of King Hussein and the continued closure of the Suez Canal, Israel sees the evaporation of some of the sympathy which supported her before and during the war. She is faced with the economic problems of the occupied territories as described in my Despatch No. 36. Although a successful underground movement has failed to materialise on the West Bank, Israel continues to face a military situation of frequent incidents on her present lines both with Jordan and with Egypt. The dangers of escalation, as shown by the "Eilat" affair, are ever present. Critical advice or exhortation from outside has touched a sensitive nerve and, as has inevitably happened in the past, Jewish stubbornness, self-righteousness and the sense of "Fortress Israel", have come to the top. In short the reaction has been predictably one of xenophobic defiance which has further alienated the opinion of some foreign governments, though possibly not yet of the Western World public at

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large. On the credit side there has been a noticeable growth of warmth in relations with the Federal German Republic and Rumania which, alone of the Eastern bloc, has shown herself willing to pursue a realistic but friendly policy towards Israel.

3. But if the war gave rise to special problems for Israel and failed to eradicate some of her old ones there were few Israelis who would have agreed in the immediate aftermath that the losers had not lost and the winners had not really gained. Israel went to war to break loose from what appeared a grave threat to throttle her. By her overwhelming victory she achieved this objective and more. She felt she had emerged as a power in her own right in the Middle East. She was indebted to no-one but herself for her victory. Neither the West nor the East had been involved: King Hussein's wish that the Arabs should be left alone with the Israelis (which the Israelis must have heartily endorsed had they known of it) had been fulfilled. Her enemies were so militarily crippled that it appeared virtually impossible for them to try any further confrontation for a long time to come. Her forces were in occupation of large areas of enemy territory, rendering obsolete the old Armistice Lines of dissension and conflict, and were established on easily defended ceasefire

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lines. There were, for the first time, many cards in Israel's hands to exchange for a durable peace with the Arabs. Crowning all this, the Old City of Jerusalem was in Israel's hands; the very consummation of Zionism and the fulfilment of the hope which had held the Jewish people together for close on two thousand years of exile.

4. The immediate reaction after the war was that, surely, this time the Arabs must have learned their lesson and that the real fruits of victory must lie in a lasting and durable settlement. The golden age was about to dawn; the Arabs would see, encouraged by West and East alike, the enormous advantages to them of peace and co-operation with Israel. Hand in hand the two brances of the Semites could march forward to transform the social and economic structure of the whole Middle East. So it was that, for a period, the Israelis showed every sign of being prepared to fall into what they would normally have considered the cardinal error of showing the maximum magnanimity to their conquered foes. I am confident that, if at this stage an Arab leader or Arab leaders collectively had come forward to say that they would like to negotiate a peace they would indeed have received the most generous terms, which apart from the return of territories would have involved the Israelis in large scale plans for economic co-operation, the settlement of the refugees and the general development of the Middle East. The one real casualty was King Hussein.

/whom

whom the Israelis considered to have behaved in a highly treacherous and irresponsible manner, not only towards Israel, but towards his Western friends. For him it was a case of "Never bright morning again". Nevertheless, even here there was a tendency to co-operate with Western efforts to portray the showing of the Jordan Arab Army as having been far better than that of any of the other Arabs. (This was against the evidence of Israel's own military experts who considered that the only really decent fight was put up by the Egyptians in the area of the angle of the Gaza Strip and Sinai.) But if King Hussein had come forward at that time his tarnished image in Israel's eyes could have been rehabilitated. Only on one point must this paragraph be qualified and that is as from 7 June the return of the Old City of Jerusalem either to Jordan or to an international body was quite unthinkable to any Israeli, whose mood was and still is that he would die rather than give it up.

5. This happy period lasted roughly up to and into the meetings of the Special Assembly of the United Nations, which was accepted as a necessary, though slightly dangerous, entr'acte which had to be gone through before the real process of direct peace-making could be entered upon. The mood changed perceptibly during the Assembly, when it was felt that its main result was to give the Arabs time to recover from their initial shock, to

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receive encouragement in the shape of fresh injections of arms, and to avoid facing up to the issue which seemed so clear cut to the Israelis. An early and unpleasant surprise was the attitude of some of Israel's friends and particularly the United Kingdom with regard to Jerusalem. The story once more became current (which I have now seen reproduced regrettably and very recently in the Adelphi paper on the war by the Institute for Strategic Studies) that the withdrawal of British troops from Palestine was accompanied by a secret agreement between Mr. Bevin and King Abdullah which would give to the latter not only the territories allotted to the Arabs by the United Nations Partition Plan, but the whole of Jerusalem in violation of United Nations Resolutions. What else, said the Israelis, could account for this new-found British sensitivity over Israel-occupied Jerusalem, when Britain had acquiesced so quickly in the Jordan occupation and had never raised a protest against Jordanian negation of all Jewish rights in the Holy City? Bitterness was increased by the discovery of the wholesale desecration of Jewish graves and places of worship in the twenty years in which the Jordanians had been in occupation. Finally, though fortified by the failure of the Yugoslav Resolution and the success of the Latin American draft (itself a fairly unacceptable document to the Israelis) they found to their dismay that, broadly speaking, the

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world community seemed tacitly to have accepted the thesis that it was too dangerous and therefore out of the question for any Arab leader or leaders to come forward to discuss peace with the Israelis. In short, a great part of the world was encouraging the Arabs to believe that they had not really lost while the Israelis had not really won. From this point the bubble of post-war euphoria seems to have burst and a harder line became apparent in both governmental and public thinking. Hope for Israel's co-operation in accepting back the "new" refugees began to dwindle as from this moment.

6. Mr. Eshkol's Government of all parties, which was brought together under wartime conditions, was singularly unsuited, in these indeterminate circumstances, for the prosecution of Israel's interests at the diplomatic level or for exercising her new-found responsibilities in the occupied areas. The Cabinet is sharply divided amongst itself and, under the Prime Minister's weak and indecisive leadership, lacks a sense of cohesion. Its members make contradictory statements and pursue conflicting policies. As Minister responsible for the military government of the occupied areas, General Dayan behaves very much as an independent ruler and brooks no interference by his colleagues, although he has now submitted to a certain degree of control over his public statements. The religious parties, from the outset, were the first to

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adopt "hawkish" attitudes based on the Bible. The circumstances of Israel's post-war problems have helped to bring to the forefront of the political life of the country the bid by the middle strata of Israeli-born political leaders, represented by General Dayan and Mr. Allon, to inherit the reins of Government from the immigrant generation of "old guard" politicians. This is a struggle which cuts across party lines and involves personal rivalries between various contenders for power and their followers. It has directly contributed to the progressively harder line adopted in official pronouncements over the last three months as Mr. Eshkol, Mr. Allon and General Dayan have each, in turn, sought to demonstrate that he can be a tougher Prime Minister than the others. It is a wry thought, but nevertheless a valid one, that in the unlikely event of the Arabs suddenly agreeing to direct negotiations, the Israel Cabinet would be caught completely off balance. The wrangling at the conference table would be as nothing to the dissensions within the Israel Government itself, which could well tear it apart. It is far easier for the Cabinet to show unity in intransigence.

7. Israel's highly questionable decisions on the conditions for the return of refugees from Jordan and the re-establishment of Jewish settlements in the Etzion Bloc (with its implications for a more general return of Jewish settlers to the

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West Bank of Jordan) are a product of the basic weakness and lack of unity in the Government rather than of a carefully thought out policy for dealing with the areas under Israeli military occupation. They took no account of likely international repercussions nor of the possible Arab reactions. In neither case was the Government subjected initially to strong public pressure, but each short-sighted step as it was taken appears to have aroused considerable enthusiasm among an equally short-sighted press and public. Whether or not these decisions have reduced the prospect of a negotiated settlement with the Arabs must be a matter of opinion. The Israelis would argue that they have brought this prospect nearer by, in the case of the refugees, adding to King Hussein's internal problems and, as regards Etzion, putting him on notice that he had better hurry up if he wants to regain his lost territories.

8. As time has gone on, bringing a settlement no nearer, a body of opinion has emerged in Israel which favours holding on to the captured (or as they prefer to call them "liberated") territories for their own sake. Those who adhere to this point of view place no faith in any agreements made with the Arabs and believe that the strong right arm of Israel is the only guarantee of her security. They argue that the ceasefire lines are more tenable boundaries, militarily, than the pre-war frontiers; that they give

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Israel's defences much-needed depth and more than double the warning time in case of future air attacks on her cities; and that they place her forces in a position to deter further Arab aggression by threatening to move against Damascus, Amman or even Cairo. There are also others who, for religious, historical or nationalistic reasons, would strongly oppose any proposal to retreat from any of the occupied territory. Both these streams of thought have found expression in the recent formation of an organisation calling itself "The Movement for the Entire Land of Israel", which embraces many prominent Israelis from all walks of life, and is actively campaigning on a non-party basis for public support. It is my impression that this movement is beginning to gather increasing support in the country and that it may well have its sympathisers in the Cabinet.

9. But, for the time being, official policy expresses a willingness to enter into direct negotiations with the Arab States, either collectively or individually. The terms on which the Israelis envisage that a settlement might be reached have never been explicitly spelt out, but they would almost certainly be based on the principle that Israel could only accept arrangements which gave her advantages at least comparable with those she now enjoys as a result of her occupation of captured territory. In the case of Jordan, Israel would be likely to insist on

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certain frontier adjustments to widen the Jerusalem corridor and the narrow waist of the Sharon Plain, the demilitarisation of that part of the West Bank which was returned to Jordan, and the retention of the whole of Jerusalem as part of Israel. On this last point, as I have said, there is no room for compromise in the Israelis' attitude. No Government could survive in Israel which dared contemplate a surrender of the Old City. While they may be prepared to concede some form of extra-territorial status for the Christian and Muslim Holy Places, they will make no concession on sovereignty. Equally, there would be willingness to come to some arrangement with Jordan over the division of the spoils of the tourist traffic, but the generosity of the terms likely to be offered dwindles with each week that passes.

10. Israel's terms for a settlement with Egypt would involve the retention of the Gaza Strip, the demilitarisation of the Sinai Peninsula, and guarantees of freedom of navigation through the Straits of Tiran and the Suez Canal. For Israel, passage through the Canal is important only from a prestige point of view, and she might be prepared not to press this point if an agreement acceptable to her in all other respects could be reached. The possibility of any settlement with Syria seems for the present to be academic. Israel would expect to remain on the Golan Heights and only to withdraw her forces under arrangements

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which permanently removed any Syrian threat to the settlements in the Hula Valley and on the eastern shore of Lake Galilee.

11. In assessing the prospects of reaching a settlement with the Arabs, the Israelis' analysis of Arab psychology differs fundamentally from ours. They believe that experience has taught them that any show of magnanimity will be interpreted as weakness and any hint of flexibility as lack of purpose. They believe that if they stand firm on their conquests the Arabs will sooner or later be forced to reach an accommodation with Israel. They can see no good coming out of activities at the United Nations designed to bring about an internationally imposed solution, since they are convinced that these activities only encourage the Arabs to go on deluding themselves that they can recover by diplomatic means what they lost by war without ever having to face up to a real peace with Israel. It would suit Israel best if the present session of the United Nations General Assembly were to end, like the last one, with negative results. She has no wish to have her own hands tied by a Security Council resolution, nor any confidence that such a resolution, however "balanced", would be faithfully observed by the Arabs, or properly policed by the United Nations.

12. Against this background, British efforts to work for a resolution in the Security Council are viewed with the

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gravest misgivings and have aroused a great deal of hostile criticism in Israel. The impression created in October by reports from New York was that it was the British delegation who were forcing the pace. All the latent Israeli suspicions of British motives in the Middle East have since come to the surface. Our actions are seen as indicative of a change to a more pro-Arab policy designed to serve short-term British interests in the Arab world at the expense of our relations with Israel.

13. The announcement of your intention of seeking a restoration of diplomatic relations with Egypt was immediately criticised as being misguided at a time when President Nasser's stock is all but depleted. Israelis said it would merely increase Egyptian intransigence and delay, rather than advance, the prospects of re-opening the Suez Canal. The Israel Government, while professing understanding of the problems created for Britain by the continued closure of the Suez Canal, have repeatedly made it clear that they have no intention of falling in with what they regard as Egyptian blackmail tactics, by agreeing to withdraw their forces from the east bank of the Canal in advance of an overall peace settlement. To withdraw even a short distance would be militarily difficult in view of the absence of lateral communications between their positions in Sinai except along the Canal itself, and would involve giving up the commanding

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advantages they now enjoy of being able to keep Egyptian ground and air forces at a safe distance from their cities.

14. The Israelis are, however, probably not as worried by our activities in New York as the violence of recent local press reactions might suggest, since they seem confident that they can rely on the Americans to block any resolution in the Security Council which would require them to withdraw their forces from occupied territory without cast-iron guarantees that this would be accompanied or immediately preceded by Arab recognition and a renunciation of belligerency. Even without this safeguard, I have little doubt that Israel would unhesitatingly flout any resolution which she found unacceptable, unless this was backed up by the threat of certain and effective sanctions. She would not be deterred by considerations of world opinion, still less by any regard for the United Nations, an institution which she holds in contempt. (I think it was Mr. Eban who remarked not long ago that if the Arabs were to propose a resolution declaring that the world was flat, they would get forty votes for it immediately.)

15. The recent Israel press campaign against us was not simply an ill-tempered outburst engineered by the feeling that we were working against their interests at the United Nations. It reflects basic differences of attitude towards the problems of the Middle East. The Israelis

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have now, as a result of the last three months, come to attach more importance to security than to peace. They have little sympathy with our policy of bolstering up King Hussein who, when the crunch came, proved to be no less an enemy of Israel than President Nasser. It is of little consequence to them whether Jordan survives or is swallowed up by Syria or Iraq. Indeed, in some ways they would prefer an openly hostile regime in Amman since its influence would be less effective in Western capitals, and they would at least know where they stood. As for Egypt, the Israelis believe that unless he is rescued by the West, President Nasser is on the way out. They prefer to take their chance that his successor will be easier to live with.

16. Unless there is a breakthrough at the United Nations, or Jordan and Egypt open negotiations with Israel in the near future, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that Israel's frontiers will gell round the present ceasefire lines. I am bound to say that I find it difficult, given the current atmosphere in Israel, to see what effective pressure can be brought to bear to make the Israelis budge from these ceasefire lines in default of the kind of guarantees of their security which they demand. Seen from here, the only pressures which may force them to alter their position will be internal ones. In the short term, continued and successful Arab attempts at

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sabotage and subversion might make Israel wonder whether retaining the West Bank was worthwhile. And in the long term, the more far-sighted are exercised with the question of whether the presence of anything up to one million additional Arabs in the occupied territories does not spell the end of the Jewish State. But neither of these pressures is likely to force Israel to act in haste. The security and military forces think that they are capable of rooting out all those Arabs who have connexions with terrorist organisations and believe that once this is done the West Bank population will no longer be afraid to co-operate with the Israel authorities. But even if the acts of sabotage continue I suspect that Israel will think very hard before she feels forced to relinquish the West Bank short of a peace treaty with Jordan, since the view generally held here is that, if terrorism is to continue, it is better that Israel should patrol the Jordan and have her civil and military authorities on the West Bank to search for the terrorists. This is considered preferable to returning to the pre-war situation which offered terrorists a salient protruding deep into Israel from which to conduct their activities, and a refuge to which they could return after they had done their business. As regards the Jewish character of Israel if the West Bank and its fast breeding Arab population are retained, this is a question which need not be faced up to immediately.

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It would take at least one generation before the threat of being eclipsed by the Arab population materialised, and since Israel at the present moment is concerned with her security in the immediate future she feels she can well afford to wait some time before turning her mind to this problem, which might be resolved in a variety of ways not involving the absorption of the Arabs as Israel citizens with voting rights.

17. In conclusion, the Israelis are not unduly worried by prognostications of a future and possibly "final round" by the Arabs. They appreciate, with what is probably supportable military expert thinking, that a pre-emptive air strike is not merely a question of getting up five minutes earlier than the other fellow. They discard the possibility of the Arabs ever reaching the operational and technological finesse which underlay the Israel Air Force's success at the outset of the Six Day War. They accept that they may well have to suffer far greater civilian casualties and damage, but they are confident that a first-strike by the Arabs could be frustrated even if one were mounted. Israel can therefore afford to sit on her present gains either until the Arabs see sense and negotiate their return, or until a further "round", when an Israel occupation of Amman, Damascus and Cairo could lead to a definitive end of the war and peace negotiations. All this rather facile approach is

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based on several dangerous assumptions: that the Soviet Union will never intervene actively and that there will continue to be a tacit understanding between the United States and the Soviets that the struggle for influence in the Middle East must be conducted within certain prescribed bounds: that local wars will remain conventional, or that Israel's ability to achieve a nuclear capacity first will serve as a deterrent to Arab nuclear ambitions: and finally (a rash assumption in view of the history of the Middle East over the last twenty years) that there will be no accidents - either in the Arab world or internally in Israel or in her relations with the Diaspora or the community of free nations.

18. I fear that this Despatch ends on a gloomy note, but I can see little hope here of any inclination to flexibility which could give cause for optimism about the possibility of a Middle East settlement. Given Arab disinclination to turn twenty years of hostility into peace as the result of negotiations with the Israelis, and given the strength of Israel's military, economic and physical position and the basic cohesion of the nation behind a tough and intransigent line, the outlook must be one of tension and instability for several years to come. Perhaps this is what the Russians want: their policy in the area has hitherto been one of "tension without explosion" and perhaps all they have changed in is, having learned their lesson about their

/inability

inability to control explosion when it comes to the point, they think by a tighter imperial hold on their clients they can be more successful in their control over the coming years. Worse still, they may consider that, in due course, it may pay them to permit an explosion, which this time ends to their advantage. Either way the prospects for British interests in the area are discouraging. We would seem to be in for the return to a prolonged period when our major interests in the Arab world will be at the mercy of Arab irredentism and hostility towards Israel, in which we shall inevitably be caught up. For the Arabs themselves the outlook is really no less forbidding. They have always claimed that Israel imperialism aimed at frontiers from the Nile to the Euphrates. This, I am sure, was never the Israelis' wish, but recent events and the failure of the Arabs to draw correct conclusions from their débâcle in the latest war has brought the Israelis perilously near accepting that one day they may well have to fight for their survival on fronts very far removed from the Armistice Lines as they existed on the 4th of June, 1967.

19. I am sending copies of this Despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives in Amman, Ankara, Bahrain, Beirut, Bonn, Jedda, Kuwait, Moscow, Nicosia, Paris, Rabat, Tehran, Tripoli, Tunis and Washington; to the United Kingdom Representative at the United Nations in New York; to Her

/Majesty's

Majesty's Consul-General, Jerusalem; and to the British Interests Sections in Algiers, Cairo and Khartoum.

I have the honour to be,
With the highest respect,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

(R. M. Hadow)

1076

WH Rabat

BY BAG SAVING TELEGRAM

AZS 23.XI

FOREIGN OFFICE TO ABIDJAN

Telno 52 Saving 16 November 1967 (JIPGD)

UNCLASSIFIED

Addressed to Abidjan telegram No.52 Saving of 16 November.
Repeated for information Saving to:

Abu Dhabi
Accra
Addis Ababa
Aden
Algiers
Amman
Ankara
Athens
Bathurst
Bahrain Agency
Bahrain Residency
Bangkok
Beira
Beirut
Belgrade
Benghazi
Berlin Inf. Services
B.I.S. Bonn
Brussels
Bucharest
Budapest
Buenos Aires
Bridgetown
Calcutta
Cairo
Canberra
Cape Town
Caracas
Casablanca
Colombo
Copenhagen
Dakar
Djakarta
Dubai
Dublin
Doha (Qatar)
Durban
Freetown
Gaberones
Georgetown
The Hague
Hanoi
Havana
Helsinki
Istanbul
Jedda
Johannesburg
Kabul
Kampala
Karachi
Katmandu
Khartoum
Kinshasa
Kingston
Kuala Lumpur
Kuwait
Lagos
La Paz
Lima
Lisbon
Lome
Lourenco Marques
Luanda
Lubumbashi
Lusaka
Luxembourg
Madras
Madrid
Managua
Manila
Maseru
Mexico City
Mombasa
Monrovia
Montevideo
Moscow
Muscat
Nairobi
New Delhi
B.I.S. New York
UKMIS New York
Nicosia
Oslo
Ottawa
Panama
UKDEL NATO Brussels
Paris
Peking
Port of Spain
Prague
Pretoria
Phnom Penh
Port Louis
Quito
Rabat
Rangoon
Rawalpindi
Reykjavik
Rio de Janeiro
Rome
Santo Domingo
Saigon
San José
San Salvador
Santiago
Sao Paulo
Seoul
POLAD Singapore
BHC Singapore
Sofia
Stockholm
Tananarive
Tangier
Tegucigalpa
Tehran
Tel Aviv
Tokyo
Tripoli
Tunis
Valletta
Vienna
Vientiane
Warsaw
Washington
Wellington
Yaounde
Zomba

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY
21 NOV 1967

/Middle East Talking Points

Middle East Talking Points

Our telegram No. 48 Saving to you [of 8 November]

Although the figure of £178.8 million given in the second paragraph was lifted correctly from the Guardian you should know that a more accurate estimate of the damage done to the Egyptian refineries would probably be reached by dividing this figure by ten.

2. Most posts have now indicated that they no longer find a use for Middle East Talking Points and the telegram under reference will therefore be the last in the series

FO/CO/WH DISTRIBUTION
J.I.P.G.D.

vvvvv

With the compliments of

HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S
EMBASSY
TEL-AVIV

(R. M. Hadow)

A.L. Southorn 6.XII

H. of C 7/12

H.M. Representative,
Rabat.

H.E. 7/XII

16 November 1967

S

SERVICE TELEX ◇ SERVICE TELEX ◇ SERVICE TELEX

OX OP

PRODROME RABAT
PRODROME RABAT
PRODROME LONDON

PRODROME RABAT
FORS FOLDN GRPS 360A 170172
FROM FOREIGN OFFIE TO F L A S H PRODROME RABAT
TELNO [illegible] 17 NOVEMBER 1967
ADDRESSED TO PARIS TELNO [illegible] 3 OF 17 NOVEMBER AND TO OTTAWA
TOKYO COPENHAGEN LAGOS NEW DELHI SOFIA BEIRUT JEDDA KUWAIT
RABAT TUNIS TRIPOLI KHARTOUM BUENOS AIRES RIO DE JANEIRO
ADDIS ABABA CAIRO REPEATED FOR INFORMATION BAHRAIN TEHERAN
RAWALPINDI ANKARA AND SAVING TO UKDEL NATO.

MIDDLE EAST.
FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF UK DRAFT RESOLUTION TABLED IN THE SECURITY
COUNCIL AS GIVEN IN UKMIS TELEGRAM NO. [illegible] TO FOREIGN OFFICE OF
17 NOVEMBER.
BEGINS.

(A) THE SECURITY COUNCIL,
(1) EXPRESSING ITS CONTINUING CONCERN WITH THE GRAVE SITUATION
IN THE MIDDLE EAST,
(2) EMPHASISING THE INADMISSIBILITY OF THE ACQUISITION OF TERRITORY
BY WAR AND THE NEED TO WORK FOR A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN WHICH
EVERY STATE IN THE AREA CAN LIVE IN SECURITY,
(3) EMPHASISING FURTHER THAT ALL MEMBER STATES IN THEIR ACCEPTANCE
OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS HAVE UNDERTAKEN A COMMITMENT
TO ACT IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 2 OF THE CHARTER,
1. AFFIRMS THAT THE FULFILMENT OF CHARTER PRINCIPLES REQUIRES THE
ESTABLISHMENT OF A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST
WHICH SHOULD INCLUDE THE APPLICATION OF BOTH THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES
(I) WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI ARMED FORCES FROM TERRITORIES OCCUPIED

1076

Seen AJS 17.XI

HE has seen

H. of C. Desk 20/11

◇ SERVICE TELEX ◇

IN THE RECENT CONFLICT :
(I) TERMINATION OF ALL CLAIMS OR STATES OF BELLIGERENCY AND
RESPECT FOR AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE SOVEREIGNTY, TERRITORIAL
INTEGRITY AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF EVERY STATE IN THE AREA AND
THEIR RIGHT TO LIVE IN PEACE WITHIN SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BOUNDARIES
FREE FROM THREATS OR ACTS OF FORCE :
2. AFFIRMS FURTHER THE NECESSITY
(A) FOR GUARANTEEING FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION THROUGH INTERNATIONAL
WATERWAYS IN THE AREA :
(B) FOR ACHIEVING A JUST SETTLEMENT OF THE REFUGEE PROBLEM :
(C) FOR GUARANTEEING THE TERRITORIAL INVIOLABILITY AND POLITICAL
INDEPENDENCE OF EVERY STATE IN THE AREA, THROUGH MEASURES INCLUDING
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DEMILITARIZED ZONES :
3. REQUEST THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO DESIGNATE A SPECIAL
REPRESENTATIVE TO PROCEED TO THE MIDDLE EAST TO ESTABLISH AND
MAINTAIN CONTACTS WITH THE STATES CONCERNED IN ORDER TO PROMOTE
AGREEMENT AND ASSIST EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A PEACEFUL AND ACCEPTED
SETTLEMENT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS AND PRINCIPLES
IN THIS RESOLUTION ;
4. REQUESTS THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO REPORT TO THE SECURITY
COUNCIL ON THE PROGRESS OF THE EFFORTS OF THE SPECIAL
REPRESENTATIVE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.
ENDS.
SUSFA+++

=
PRODROME RABAT
SENT 170217 EHH

QSL. 1213Z/17 CJBS

1076

INWARD TELEGRAM

En Clair
Code Code R
Cypher
(Paraphrase Heading)
Cypher/OTP
En Clair by Conf. Bag

[Distribution Heading]

FROM CO TO CABAT.

[Signature]

[No. and prefix] No. 596.

[Date] 17/11.

D M

R 11.26 a.m. 17/11. ACS 17.XI

Repeated to

H E has seen

[Priority] IMMEDIATE

H. of C. for info.

CONDI DENTIAL

FOLLOWING RECEIVED FROM UKMIS NEWYORK ADDRESSED

TO FOREIGN OFFICE TELEGRAM NUMBER 3248 OF 16 NOVEMBER

.

REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO BUENOS AIRES. RIO DE

.

JANEIRO. WASHINGTON. MOSCOW. PARIS. OTTAWA. TOKYO.

.

COPENHAGEN. LAGOS. NEW DELHI. SOFIA. TEL AVIV.

CAIRO. BEIRUT. JEDDA. AMMAN. KUWAIT. RABAT.

TUNIS. TRIPOLI 6 KHARTOUM. ADDIS ABABA. BAHRAIN.

TEHRAN. RAWALPINDI. ANKARA AND UKDEL NATO.

DISTRIBUTION

YOUR TELEGRAM NO. 11847 TO WASHINGTON.

MIDDLE EAST.

THE TEXT OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE MIDDLE EAST WHICH WE HAVE TABLED TODAY IS CONTAINED IN M.I.F.T. IT MAY BE VOTED ON TOMORROW (FRIDAY) AFTERNOON.

ADVANCE COPIES TO:—

2. I HOPE THAT POSTS IN COUNTRIES REPRESENTED ON

389.Wt.37518/D161.1000.11/63.C.P.L.Gp.626.

/the

THE SECURITY COUNCIL CAN NOW BE INSTRUCTED TO MAKE THE MAXIMUM EFFORT TO SECURE A VOTE FROM GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED IN FAVOUR OF IT.

3. IN SEEKING THIS SUPPORT POSTS WILL HAVE TO MODIFY THE ARGUMENT CONTAINED IN PARAGRAPHS 3 TO 5 OF YOUR TELEGRAM UNDER REFERENCE. I DO NOT THINK IT WOULD BE WISE TO SAY THAT WE COULD SUPPORT THE INDIAN AND AMERICAN DRAFTS. THIS COULD IMPROVE THE CHANCES OF THE INDIAN TEXT. INSTEAD POSTS COULD SAY THAT IT IS CLEAR FROM THE COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS THAT NEITHER THE INDIAN NOR THE AMERICAN TEXT CAN PROVIDE A BASIS ON WHICH THE ISRAELI AND ARAB GOVERNMENTS COULD BE BROUGHT TO COOPERATE WITH THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE. WE CANNOT CLAIM THAT OUR DRAFT YET CARRIES THE ACQUIESCENCE OF THE PARTIES BUT IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT OUR TEXT WAS NOT REPEAT NOT SPECIFICALLY REJECTED BY EITHER SIDE WHEN THEY SPOKE IN THE COUNCIL TODAY TO MAKE THEIR WELL KNOWN RESERVATIONS OF POSITION. IT IS MOREOVER THE PRODUCT OF THE MOST INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS AND WE BELIEVE THAT, OF THE TEXTS NOW BEFORE THE COUNCIL, IT IS ONE WHICH TAKES MOST CLOSELY

/ints

INTO ACCOUNT THE ESSENTIAL INTERESTS OF THE PARTIES AS THEY HAVE STATED THEM. WE HAVE HOPES THAT THE PARTIES WILL COME ROUND TO ACQUIESCENCE AND THAT OUR TEXT WOULD GIVE THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE THE BEST HOPE OF SUCCESS IN CARRYING OUT HIS MANDATE.

4. OUR CHANCES OF SUCCESS MUST REMAIN UNCERTAIN. IT IS HOWEVER NOT IMPOSSIBLE THAT PROVIDING THE INDIAN TEXT FAILS (THE U.S. TEXT HAS NO HOPE OF CARRYING) MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL WILL RALLY TO OUR TEXT. THE INDIAN TEXT WOULD PROBABLY NEED THE ARGENTINE ETHIOPIAN AND JAPANESE VOTES TO ENABLE IT TO SUCCEED. THE FIRST TWO AT LEAST HAVE FOR LONG HAD STANDING FOSTRUCTIONS TO VOTE FOR IT. IT WOULD GREATLY HELP OUR PROSPECTS IF THESE THREE GOVERNMENTS COULD BE PERSUADED THAT OUR TEXT IS NOW THE ONE MOST LIKELY TO LEAD TO EFFECTIVE ACTION ON THE GROUND INSTEAD OF SIMPLY A VOTING VICTORY IN THE COUNCIL (THE JAPANESE HERE HAS INDICATED THAT IF WE CAN COLLECT 8 OTHER VOTES FOR OUR TEXT HE COULD PROBABLY PROVIDE THE NINTH).

5. THE MAIN KEY TO SUCCESS HOWEVER WILL BE THE

/attitude

ATTITUDE OF THE LATIN AMERICANS. THEY ARE UNDER INSTRUCTIONS TO TABLE A TEXT OF THEIR OWN SO AS TO AVOID RECOURSE TO THEIR STANDING INSTRUCTIONS (THE TEXT HAS BEEN TELEGRAPHED SEPARATELY TO BUENOS AIRES AND RIO). IT WOULD GIVE OUR TEXT A REAL CHANCE OF SUCCESS IF THE BRAZILIAN AND ARGENTINE GOVERNMENTS COULD BE PERSUADED TO VOTE ONLY FOR OUR TEXT AND NOT TO TABLE THEIR OWN. AND I HOPE THAT HER MAJESTY~S AMBASSADORS IN BUENOS AIRES AND RIO WILL DO THEIR UTMOST TO ACHIEVE THIS. (THE POINT IS THAT. SINCE THE LATIN TEXT IS MUCH MORE PRO-ARAB THAN OUR OWN. IF IT IS TABLED IT WILL DRAW AWAY SUPPORT FROM OURS. ANLD THOUGH IT WOULD BE FOURTH IN LINE IT WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY SUCCEED. BUT IT WOULD HAVE LITTLE OR NO CHANCE OF BEING EFFECTIVE ON THE GROUND. IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO ACT VERY QUICKLY IN RIO AND BUENOS AIRES IF INSTRUCTIONS ARE TO GET TO NEW YORK IN TIME.

6. (TO NEW DELHI ONLY) IN NEW DELHI THE HIGH COMMISSIONER MIGHT TAKE THE LINES THAT WE HAVE CAREFULLY CONSIDERED THE REPRESENTATIONS MADE BY AZZAM HUSSEIN. WE SEE LITTLE DIFFERENCE IN OBJECTIVE BETWEEN THE INDIAN~S AND OURS. BUT AS THE ISRAELIS AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY WILL NOT COOPERATE ON THE BASIS OF

/the Indian

THE INDIAN TEXT WE HOPE THAT THEY WILL CONCLUDE THAT OUR TEXT IS THE ONE MOST LIKELY TO ACHIEVE THE OBJECTIVES WHICH BOTH HAVE IN MIND. IF WE HAVE HAD TO LEAVE IN A NUMBER OF POINTS UNPALATABLE TO THE ARABS IT IS BECAUSE WE HAVE BEEN SO MUCH MORE SPECIFIC ON WITHDRAWAL THAN ANY OTHER TEXT WHICH SEEMED CAPABLE OF ACHIEVING ISRAELI ACQUIESCENCE.

7. ADEBO (NIGERIA) WOULD LIKE, I BELIEVE, TO VOTE FOR OUR TEXT AFTER THE FAILURE OF THE AFRO-ASIAN TEXT. BUT REPRESENTATIONS IN LAGOS COULD HELP GREATLY IN THIS.

8. WE ALSO THINK THAT THE ETHIOPIAN AMBASSADOR WOULD LIKE TO VOTE FOR OUR TEXT AND IT WILL BE WELL WORTH WHILE MAKING STRONG REPRESENTATIONS IN ADDIS ABABA

FO PASS MOSCOW 582 TOKYO 42 COPENHAGEN 135
LAGOS 14 DELHI 70 SOFIA 7 TEL AVIV 591 CAIRO 187
BEIRUT 191 JEDDA 101 AMMAN 446 KUWAIT 25
RABAT 15 TUNIS 29 TRIPOLI 10 KHARTOUM 18
ADDIS ABABA 48 BAHRAIN 20 TERAN 37 RAWALPINDI 9 ANKARA 85

SOSFA

1076

INWARD TELEGRAM

En Clair
Code Code R
Cypher
(Paraphrase Heading)
Cypher/OTP
En Clair by Conf. Bag

Cypher/OTP [Distribution Heading]

FROM F.D. TO RABAT

AMS 17.XI

[Signature]

[No. and prefix] No. 597.

[Date] 17 NOV

D ~~0935~~ A.M.

R 0935 G M 17/11

HE has seen
H. of S. for info.

Repeated to

[Priority] IMMEDIATE.

C ONFIDENTIAL ADDRESSED TO WASHINGTON TELEGRAM NUMBER 12052 OF 17 NOVEMBER AND TO ~~MOSCOW~~, PARIS, OTTAWA, TOKYO, COPENHAGEN, LAGOS, NEW DELHI, SOFIA, BUENOS AIRES, RIO DE JANEIRO, ADDIS ABABA

REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO TEL AVIV, CAIRO, BEIRUT, JEDDA, AMMAN, KUWAIT, RABAT, TUNIS, TRIPOLI, KHARTOUM, UKMIS NEW YORK, BAHRAIN, TEHRAN, RAWALPINDI AND ANKARA AND SAVING TO UKDEL NATO, U.K.MISSION NEW YORK TELEGRAM NUMBER 3248 TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

DISTRIBUTION

MIDDLE EAST.

PLEASE ACT ACCORDINGLY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. YOU SHOULD EMPHASIZE THAT THE CRUCIAL QUESTION IS NOT SIMPLY THE PASSING OF A RESOLUTION IN NEW YORK BUT ACHIEVING POSITIVE RESULTS ON THE GROUND IN THE MIDDLE EAST. IT IS ON THIS CRITERION THAT OUR DRAFT RESOLUTION OUT-CLASSES THE OTHERS IN THE

ADVANCE COPIES TO:—

389.Wt.37518/D161.1000.11/63.C.P.L.Gp.626.

Ifield

FIELD.

2. UKMISSION NEW YORK TELEGRAM NO 3249 IS NOT REPEAT NOT BEING RVPEATED AS ALL POSTS HAVE RECEIVED TEXT SEPARATELY.

SOSFA

1076

INWARD TELEGRAM

En Clair
Code Code R
Cypher
(Paraphrase Heading)
Cypher/OTP
En Clair by Conf. Bag

by 'CAT B'

[Distribution Heading]

FROM F.O. TO RABAT

[Signature]

[No. and prefix] No. 598 D M

[Date] 17/11 R 1.47 p.M 17/11.

Repeated to

H. of C. a/a

[Priority] FLASH

CONFIDENTIAL.

ADDRESSED TO AMMAN TELEGRAM NO 2500 OF 17 NOVEMBER

1967. AND TO BEIRUT JEDDA CAIRO KUWAIT RABAT

TUNIS TRIPOLI KHARTOUM REPEATED FOR INFORMATION

TO UK MIS NEW YORK BAHRAIN RESIDENCY TEHRAN ANKARA

RAWALPINDI AND SAVING TO UK DEL NATO.

UK MIS NEW YORK TELEGRAM NO. 3248 TO FOREIGN

OFFICE: MIDDLE EAST IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

DISTRIBUTION

POSTS IN MEMBER COUNTRIES OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

HAVE BEEN INSTR- UCTED TO LOBBY AS PROPOSED BY

LORD CARADON. (MY TEL. NO. 12052 TO WASHINGTON).

2. UNLESS YOU SEE OBJECTION PLEASE TAKE URGENT

ACTION TO CONVEY THE TEXT OF OUR DRAFT RESOLUTION

(WHICH WAS BEEN TELEGRAPHED SEPARATELY) TO THE

GOVERNMENT TO WHICH YOU ARE ACCREDITED.

YOU SHOULD MAKE THE POINTS IN THE LAST WO

Action taken. See 4.30 pm. 17/11 Outward Tel.

17/11

ADVANCE COPIES TO:—

389.Wt.37518/D161.1000.11/63.C.P.L.Gp.626.

1 sentences

SENTENCES OF PARAGRAPH 3 OF UK MIS TELEGRAM

UNDER REFERENCE. AND IN MY TEL. TO WASHINGTON

UNDER REFERENCE.

3. RECIPIENTS OF THIS TELEGRAM FOR INFORMATNON ARE AUTHORISED AT THEIR DISCRETION TO CONVEY OUR TEXT TO THE GOVERNMENTS TO WHICH THEY ARE ACCREDITED AND MAKE THE FOREGOING POINTS.

4. NO REPEAT NO MENTION SHOULD BE MADE OF OUR LOBBYING ACTION IN SECURITY COUNCIL CAPITALS TO DIVERT SUPPORT FROM THE INDIAN DRAFT RESOLUTION TO OUR OWN.

SOSFA

(1076/67) **TELEGRAM**

Cypher

~~Cypher~~

~~Code~~

Clear

From :— RABAT *To :—* FOREIGN OFFICE

Despatched Received

No. 433 of 17 November, 1967.

FLASH.
CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 433 of 17 November. Repeated for information to UKMIS, New York.

FLASH

Your telegram No. 2500 to Amman.

Because of the Independence Day celebrations Foreign Minister was unable to receive me until this afternoon, when I handed him the text of our resolution and of Lord Caradon's speech and spoke as instructed.

2. Minister said that our resolution had much merit. He was most grateful for this constructive contribution towards a solution and would instruct Moroccan Permanent Representative at New York to commend it to his Arab colleagues. Moroccan Government would have no objection to the text as it stood. He thought however that some Middle Eastern countries might have two difficulties:-

a) On paragraph (3)1.(I) they might prefer "withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from all territories". This was to cover the position in Jerusalem.

b) on paragraph (3)1 (II), they might prefer "within their boundaries" to the present text. The word "recognised" was one which would still stick in some throats after the hate campaign of the last ten years.

(5517) A.O.St.

HOLLIDAY

TELEX ◇ SERVICE TELEX ◇ SERVICE TELEX ◇ SERVICE TELEX ◇ SERVICE

PRODROME RABAT

Being used for Special Bulletin
20/11/67

1076

VERBATIM SERVICE 661/67 FRIDAY 17TH NOVEMBER 1967

MIDDLE EAST: LORD CARADON ON BRITISH RESOLUTION - EXTRACT.

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF LORD CARADON'S SPEECH IN THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL ON 16 NOVEMBER 1967 (MINUS TEXT OF BRITISH RESOLUTION, WHICH HAS BEEN SENT TO YOU SEPARATELY:

1. "NOW THAT OUR DEBATE ON THE CONTINUING CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS NEARING AN END, AND NOW THAT THE VIEWS AND AIMS AND HOPES OF ALL CONCERNED HAVE BEEN VERY ABLY AND VERY FORCIBLY PRESENTED TO US, AND NOW THAT WE HAVE UNDERTAKEN PROLONGED AND THOROUGH AND ANXIOUS CONSULTATIONS, THE FINE APPROACHES WHEN WE MUST DECIDE TOGETHER WHAT SHOULD BE DONE - NEVER FORGETTING THAT WHAT WE DO HERE MUST BE JUDGED BY THE TEST OF EFFECTIVE ACTION.

2. "I HAVE SAID BEFORE THAT SO GREAT IS THE NEED AND SO GREAT THE MEASURE OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN US THAT I CANNOT BELIEVE THAT WE SHALL FAIL.

3. "WE HAVE HAD THE BENEFIT LAST MONTH AND THIS OF THE LEADERSHIP OF OUR PRESIDENT FOR OCTOBER, THE DISTINGUISHED AMBASSADOR OF JAPAN, AND THIS MONTH YOU, SIR, HAVE GREATLY ENCOURAGED US TO PRESS ON WITH OUR WORK TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION.

4. "I WISH, TOO, TO PAY SPECIAL TRIBUTE TO THE WORK OF THE ELECTED MEMBERS OF THIS COUNCIL. IT IS IN OUR BEST TRADITIONS THAT WHEN THE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL HESITATE OR HOLD BACK IT IS THE ELECTED MEMBERS WHO GIVE US THE LEAD AND THE INITIATIVE TO OVERCOME THE DANGERS OF DEADLOCK. MOST RESPECTFULLY I EXPRESS MY ADMIRATION FOR THE SPIRIT OF URGENCY AND DETERMINATION WHICH THEY SHOWED. UNANIMOUSLY THEY POINTED THE WAY TO PROGRESS WHEN THEY REPORTED THAT THEY WERE AGREED ON THE NECESSITY FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF A UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE TO GO TO THE MIDDLE EAST WITHOUT FURTHER DELAY, WHEN THEY TOLD US THAT WE SHOULD SEARCH FOR A SOLUTION IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES SET OUT IN CHAPTER VI OF THE CHARTER, AND WHEN THEY URGED THAT WE SHOULD ALL COOPERATE IN STATING AS PRECISELY AS POSSIBLE THE PRINCIPLES IN ACCORDANCE WITH WHICH THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE SHOULD WORK.

Signed
Sent off EA 20/11

TELEX ◇ SERVICE TELEX ◇ SERVICE TELEX

5. SINCE THEY SO REPORTED CONSULTATIONS HAVE PROCEEDED AMONGST THE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL WITH THE PARTIES CONCERNED AND WITH ALL OF U.N. PERMANENT AND ELECTED MEMBERS. ALL, IN THE SPIRIT OF CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORT. THAT IS THE WAY THE COUNCIL SHOULD WORK AND WE WHO ARE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES OF OUR COUNTRIES HERE AT THE UNITED NATIONS HAVE ALSO GREATLY BENEFITED BY THE PRESENCE IN NEW YORK OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS WHO HAVE COME TO TAKE PART IN OUR DELIBERATIONS.

6. NEVERTHELESS, IN SPITE OF THE EXTENSIVE COMMON GROUND WHICH HAS BEEN CLEARED FOR ADVANCE MANY OF US GREATLY FEARED NOT LONG AGO THAT WE MIGHT NOT BE ABLE TO FORMULATE A RESOLUTION WHICH WOULD CARRY THE FULL AUTHORITY OF THE COUNCIL. WE HAD BEFORE US TWO DRAFT RESOLUTIONS. WE SAW THE MERITS OF BOTH. BUT WE CAME TO THE ALARMING CONCLUSION THAT THERE WAS A SERIOUS DANGER, BECAUSE OF THE POSITION TAKEN UP BY ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER, THAT NEITHER OF THESE RESOLUTIONS WOULD CARRY GENERAL SUPPORT AND NEITHER WOULD THEREFORE LEAD TO THE EFFECTIVE ACTION ON THE GROUND WITHOUT WHICH OUR LABOURS WILL BE IN VAIN.

7. WE CONSEQUENTLY FELT, AND WE WERE ENCOURAGED TO REALISE HOW WIDELY OUR FEELING WAS SHARED, THAT THE TIME HAD COME TO MAKE A NEW EFFORT. WE WANTED TO MAKE CLEAR AND DEFEND THE POLICY WHICH WE HAVE ADVOCATED THROUGHOUT. BUT MUCH MORE IMPORTANT THAN THAT, WE WANTED TO WORK WITH OTHERS TO DEVISE A RESOLUTION WHICH WOULD TAKE FULL ACCOUNT OF THE ESSENTIAL INTERESTS OF BOTH SIDES AS THEY HAVE STATED THEM TO US AND WHICH WOULD ALSO GIVE THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE THE BEST HOPE OF SUCCESS IN CARRYING OUT HIS MANDATE.

TELEX ◇ SERVICE TELEX ◇ SERVICE TELEX ◇ SERVICE

21. "AS TO THE THIRD OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH, I HAVE SAID BEFORE THAT I CONSIDER THAT THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE SHOULD BE FREE TO DECIDE HIMSELF THE EXACT MEANS AND METHODS BY WHICH HE PURSUES HIS ENDEAVOURS IN CONTACT WITH THE STATES CONCERNED BOTH TO PROMOTE AGREEMENT AND TO ASSIST EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A PEACEFUL AND ACCEPTED AND FINAL SETTLEMENT.

22. "I BELIEVE INDEED THAT THE PROPOSALS WHICH THIS DRAFT RESOLUTION INCLUDES CAN AND SHOULD COMMAND OVERWHELMING SUPPORT IN THIS COUNCIL. I BELIEVE THAT THEY REPRESENT THE BEST HOPE OF ACHIEVING EFFECTIVE ACTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THE PROVISIONS HERE SET OUT ARE DRAWN FROM THE WORK UNDERTAKEN AND THE PROPOSALS PUT FORWARD BY OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL. BUT THEY ARE MUCH MORE THAN A COLLECTION OF DIFFERENT IDEAS. THEY REPRESENT A BALANCED WHOLE AND, SO I AM CONVINCED, A JUST FINDING.

23. "IN CONCLUDING THIS RESOLUTION TO THE COUNCIL I WOULD SAY ONLY TWO THINGS FURTHER. FIRST, AGAIN I WOULD STRESS THE NEED FOR URGENT ACTION. WE HAVE WAITED TOO LONG ALREADY. I AM CONVINCED THAT IF WE WAIT LONGER THE OPPORTUNITY WE NOW HAVE, THE LAST OPPORTUNITY, WILL BE LOST. SURELY WE HAVE NOW CONSULTED ENOUGH AND ARGUED ENOUGH AND SPOKEN ENOUGH. I AM CONVINCED THAT IF WE DO NOT REACH OUR FINAL DECISION THIS WEEK THE OPPORTUNITY OF A JUST SETTLEMENT MAY ESCAPE US FOR EVER.

24. "FINALLY, AGAIN I WOULD EMPHASISE THAT THE ALTERNATIVE TO AGREEMENT IS TOO TERRIBLE TO CONTEMPLATE. IF WE GO BACK ON THE ROAD OF HATE AND SUFFERING AND CONFLICT WE SHALL LOOK BACK ON THIS WEEK AND REALISE WHAT AN OPPORTUNITY WE LOST AND WHAT AN APPALLING RESPONSIBILITY REST ON US FOR OUR FAILURE - FAILURE TO ENABLE ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED TO TURN AWAY FROM DEATH AND DESTRUCTION AND START OUT ON A NEW ERA OF PEACE AND JUSTICE.

25. "MR. PRESIDENT, I DEARLY HOPE THAT WE SHALL RISE TO THE OPPORTUNITY NOW BEFORE US, AND THAT WE SHALL ALL MOST URGENTLY AND CAREFULLY CONSIDER THE PROPOSALS WHICH I RESPECTFULLY SUBMIT." END.

ENDS VS 442/67 L P S

PRODROME RABAT

◇ SERVICE TELEX

.. "WE SENT TO BOTH SIDES. WE KNOW AND RESPECT THEIR INTENSE FEELINGS. WE WELL REALISE THAT THE FUTURE SECURITY AND PROGRESS AND HAPPINESS OF THEIR PEOPLES DEPENDS ON WHAT WE DO HERE. IT IS ENTIRELY UNDERSTANDABLE, THEREFORE, THAT TO EACH POINT, INDEED TO EACH WORD, THEY SHOULD ATTACH THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE. NEVERTHELESS, THE REPRESENTATIVES OF BOTH SIDES HAVE BEEN READY TO CONSIDER WITH THE GREATEST PATIENCE AND CARE THE REPRESENTATIONS WHICH WE HAVE PUT TO THEM. PERHAPS WE CANNOT HOPE THAT FULL AGREEMENT BETWEEN BOTH SIDES CAN BE SECURED. IT MAY BE TOO EARLY TO HOPE FOR SUCH A MIRACLE. BUT THERE HAS BEEN A READINESS TO GO BACK OVER EVERY WORD AND PHRASE, AND A READINESS TOO TO UNDERSTAND THE NEEDS AND VIEWS OF OTHERS.

.. "IN THE LONG DISCUSSIONS WITH DISTINGUISHED REPRESENTATIVES OF ARAB COUNTRIES THEY HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY SEEK NO MORE THAN JUSTICE. THE CENTRAL ISSUE OF THE RECOVERY AND RESTORATION OF THEIR TERRITORIES IS NATURALLY UPPERMOST IN THEIR MINDS. THE ISSUE OF WITHDRAWAL TO THEM IS ALL IMPORTANT, AND THEY SEEK A JUST SETTLEMENT TO END THE LONG SUFFERING OF THE REFUGEES.

.. "THE ISRAELIS, ON THE OTHER HAND, TELL US THAT WITHDRAWAL MUST NEVER BE TO INSECURITY AND HOSTILITY. THE ACTION TO BE TAKEN MUST BE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A PERMANENT PEACE AND WITHDRAWAL MUST BE TO SECURE BOUNDARIES. THERE MUST BE AN END OF THE USE AND THREAT AND FEAR OF VIOLENCE AND HOSTILITY. I HAVE SAID BEFORE THAT THESE AIMS DO NOT CONFLICT. THEY ARE EQUAL. THEY ARE BOTH ESSENTIAL. THERE MUST BE ADEQUATE PROVISION IN ANY RESOLUTION TO MEET THEM BOTH, SINCE TO ATTEMPT TO PURSUE ONE WITHOUT THE OTHER WOULD BE FOOLISH AND FUTILE. MR. PRESIDENT, WE HAVE BEEN GUIDED BY ALL THE EARLIER STATEMENTS WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE BY BOTH SIDES AND WE HAVE ENDEAVOURED WITH THE HELP OF MY BROTHER MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL TO SET OUT IN A DRAFT RESOLUTION WHAT I BELIEVE WILL BE RECOGNISED AS A SINCERE AND FAIR AND HONEST ATTEMPT BOTH TO MEET THE JUST CLAIMS OF BOTH SIDES AND TO DISCHARGE THE HIGH RESPONSIBILITY

SERVICE TELEX ◇

OF THIS COUNCIL.

12. "I CANNOT MAINTAIN THAT THE RESOLUTION WHICH WE HAVE BY THESE MEANS PREPARED WILL BE ACCEPTED IN FULL BY BOTH OF EITHER SIDE. NATURALLY THEY WILL HAVE THEIR DOUBTS AND DIFFERENCES OF WORDING AND FORMULATION AND PRESENTATION AND EMPHASIS, BUT I TRUST THAT BOTH SIDES AS WELL AS ALL MEMBERS OF THIS COUNCIL WILL RECOGNISE THAT THE RESOLUTION WHICH I NOW PRESENT TO THE COUNCIL IS INDEED BALANCED AND JUST.

13. "I UNDERSTAND THAT TRANSLATIONS OF THE RESOLUTION HAVE BEEN MADE AND THAT COPIES WILL SOON BE AVAILABLE FOR DISTRIBUTION.

14. "THE RESOLUTION SPEAKS FOR ITSELF AND I NEED NOT ATTEMPT ANY DETAILED EXPLANATION. WE HAVE ALL FOR MANY MONTHS PAST HAD THESE ISSUES CONSTANTLY UPPERMOST IN OUR MINDS.

17. "ALL OF US RECOGNISE THAT PEACE IS THE PRIZE. NONE OF US WISH A TEMPORARY TRUCE OR A SUPERFICIAL ACCOMMODATION. WE COULD NEVER ADVOCATE A RETURN TO UNEASY HOSTILITY. AS I HAVE SAID, MY GOVERNMENT WOULD NEVER WISH TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH ANY SO-CALLED SETTLEMENT WHICH WAS ONLY A CONTINUATION OF A FALSE TRUCE, AND ALL OF US WITHOUT ANY HESITATION AT ALL CAN SAY "SO MUCH FOR THE PREAMBLE.

19. "AS TO THE FIRST OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH, AND WITH DUE RESPECT FOR FULFILMENT OF CHARTER PRINCIPLES, WE CONSIDER IT ESSENTIAL THAT THERE SHOULD BE APPLIED BOTH THE PRINCIPLES OF WITHDRAWAL AND SECURITY, AND WE HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THE WORDS SET OUT IN THAT PARAGRAPH ARE CLEAR AND COMPREHENSIVE.

20. "AS TO THE SECOND OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH, THERE IS I BELIEVE NO VESTIGE OF DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN US ALL THAT THERE MUST BE A GUARANTEE OF FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION THROUGH INTERNATIONAL WATERWAYS. THERE MUST BE A JUST SETTLEMENT OF THE REFUGEE PROBLEM. THERE MUST BE GUARANTEE AND ADEQUATE MEANS TO ENSURE TERRITORIAL INVIOLABILITY AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF EVERY STATE IN THE AREA.

SERVICE TELEX ◇

1076

(2231)

BRITISH EMBASSY,

KUWAIT.

18 November, 1967.

1076

Arab Ministers of Education Conference

Please refer to my letter 2231 of 9 October to you.

2. The Arab Ministers of Education Conference originally due to begin on 11 November, 1967, has been postponed until the last week of February, 1968 at the request of the Arab League. The Arab League was asked to postpone the conference by Iraq in view of "the prevailing situation in the Arab world".

3. The agenda of the conference had included:-

a) Inter-Arab co-operation in the educational and cultural fields;

b) Co-ordination of Arab educational and cultural activities with those of Afro-Asian countries;

c) Setting up of special institutes attached to Arab universities for the teaching of Arabic to foreigners;

d) Plans for advancing public education in the Gulf and Arab South.

4. I will forward details of item d) above when we have them.

5. I am copying this letter to Chanceries in Beirut, Bahrain, Rabat, Tunis, Tripoli and Amman.

(J.A.N. Brehony)

A. Ibbott, Esq.,
Arabian Department,
Foreign Office.

AJS 28.XI

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY 27 NOV 1967

PRODROME RABAT

1076.4

FR [illegible] FO LDN [illegible]

ROUTINE PRODROME RABAT

[illegible]

FOLLOWING RECEIVED FROM UKMIS NEW YORK
ADDRESSED TO FOREIGN OFFICE TELNO 3277 OF 17 NOVEMBER REPEATED
FOR INFORMATION TO OTHER POSTS.

V

SECURITY COUNCIL - MIDDLE EAST.
WHEN THE SECURITY COUNCIL MET THIS AFTERNOON TARABANOV (BULGARIA)
SAID THAT THE COUNCIL HAD BEEN ASKED TO VOTE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE
ON THE U.K. RESOLUTION. TWENTY FOUR HOURS WAS TOO SHORT A TIME
TO FORM AN OPINION AND RECEIVE INSTRUCTIONS. HE APPEALED FOR AN
ADJOURNMENT UNTIL MONDAY AFTERNOON UNDER RULE 33.
2. I SPOKE, MAKING NO OBJECTION TO THE PROPOSED ADJOURNMENT BUT
URGING THAT MEMBERS SHOULD BE PREPARED ON MONDAY TO COME TO A
DECISION.
3. THERE BEING NO OBJECTION, THE PRESIDENT DECLARED THE COUNCIL
ADJOURNED UNTIL MONDAY AT 3.30 PM.

F.O. PASS RABAT 17

SOFA

PRODROME RABAT

SENT [illegible] 52Z JEB

1076

INWARD TELEGRAM

En Clair
Code Code R
Cypher
(Paraphrase Heading)
Cypher/OTP
En Clair by Conf. Bag

Cypher / Car A

[Distribution Heading]

FROM F.O. TO Rabat

[Signature]

[No. and prefix] No. 607 D M

[Date] 18/XI R ~~9.45~~ 7.30 p.m. 18/XI

Repeated to

[Priority] IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL.

ADDRESSED TO AMMAN TELEGRAM NO 2509 OF 58 NOVEMBER AND TO WASHINGTON MOSCOW PARIS OTTAWA TOKYO COPENHAGEN LAGOS SOFIA TEL AVIV CAIRO BEIRUT JEDDA KUWAIT RABAT TUNIS TRIPOLI KHARTOUM ADDIS ABABA REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO NEW DELHI BUENOS AIRES RIO DE JANEIRO BAHRAIN TEHRAN RAWALPINDI ANKARA AND UKMIS NEW YORK AND SAVING TO UKDEL NATO.

DISTRIBUTION

UKMIS NEW YORK TELEGRAM NO 3249: SECURITY COUNCIL - MIDDLE EAST.

I see no further useful action we can take on the information in this telegram: the Moroccans have done their stuff

24/11

YOU WILL HAVE SEEN FROM UKMIS TELEGRAM NO 3277 THAT THE COUNCIL YESTERDAY ADJOURNED UNTIL AFTERNOON OF 20 NOVEMBER. THE BULGARIAN PROPOSED THIS. BUT PROBABLY BECAUSE THE RUSSIAN WAS WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS ON OUR DRAFT RESOLUTION.

ADVANCE COPIES TO:—

Agreed Trevelyan 24/11
C.O. 24/11/63
FCO ALS 20.xi

12. Ukmis

389.Wt.37518/D161.1000.11/63.C.P.L.Gp.626.

2. UKMIS NEW YORK REPORT IN THEIR TELEGRAM NO 3270 (NOT TO ALL) THAT THE ARAB DELEGATIONS DECIDED AT A MEETING IN NEW YORK ON 17 NOVEMBER TO ACCEPT OUR TEXT AND THAT AMONG OTHERS THE JORDANIAN AND IRAQI REPRESENTATIV ES EXPRESSED THE HOPE TO US THAT IT WOULD PROCEED TO A VOTE THAT EVENING. THE AMERICANS ARE ALSO SUPPORTING US (AND FOR YOUR INFORMATION ONLY) ESPECIALLY IN TRYING TO PERSUADE THE LATIN AMERICANS NOT TO TABLE A DRAFT RESOLUTION).

3. WE MUST NOT LOSE MOMENTUM IN THE INTERVENING TWO DAYS. PARTICULARLY WHEN OUR DRAFT RESOLUTION APPEARS TO BE GAINING A VERY WIDE MEASURE OF SUPPORT. YOU SHOULD CONINUE TO EMPHASISE THE ADVANTAGES OF OUR TEXT. AND EXPRESS OPTIMISM ABOUT ITS PROSPECTS. AND YOU SHOULD DRAW ON PARAGRAPHS 1 AND 2 ABOVE AS APPROPRIATE. (RIO DE JANEIRO. BUENOS AIRES MAY. HOWEVER. PREFER TO AWAIT THE SPECIFIC LOBBYING INSTRUCTIONS WHICH THEY ARE EXPECTING).

SOSFA

1076

CONFIDENTIAL

(1076/67)

BRITISH POLITICAL AGENCY

BAHRAIN

18 November, 1967

flag A

1076
Vol X

NASSER'S PRESTIGE IN THE ARAB WORLD

Would you please refer to Johnnie Graham's letter 1071 of 29 October. The following is a brief and superficial study of the same question in Bahrain.

2. Nasser's prestige has suffered in Bahrain in much the same way as in Kuwait. The Ruling Family and established members of the community are of course pleased that his star seems to be on the wane: nevertheless they regard him as a considerable force: as such the Ruler cannot ignore or publicly defy him: the Ruler whatever his private opinions, fully realises that, for the mass of his people, Nasser is still the great leader of the Arab Nation. The Al Khalifah know that he could cause trouble in Bahrain, and they consider Faisal's aid for Nasser foolish if Faisal does not at the same time receive a quid pro quo - in this case of course, a promise not to turn the heat on the Gulf. Similarly they consider that British overtures to Nasser will not gain anything for Britain, at least not as far as the Gulf is concerned. Perhaps the Al Khalifah view is best expressed in the following saying of the Ruler's and Shaikh Khalifah's:-

"If Nasser had won the Arab war, we should have been finished here by now.
As it is we are stronger than before."

3. In the eyes of intelligent and educated Bahrainis Nasser's prestige has declined considerably. They are shocked and disappointed by his failure, and do not know where to turn, but he is still the best they have got and even the most outspoken Bahraini moderate is only prepared to express criticism of Nasser privately with no other Arabs present. The current frankness and self-critical attitude of the Egyptian press, especially Ahram, has helped to restore their respect for him. This may sound paradoxical but Heikal has been saying what they have all been thinking and he is still Nasser's man: therefore Nasser must be alright.

4. The mass of the population, as mentioned above, no doubt remain convinced of his greatness - the June war has not changed that. But the large Shia minority - nearly 50% - have always looked northwards to Iraq rather than north-west to Cairo and, with the Marxist connexions of the Shia extremists, have perhaps preferre

the Syrian/...

H.G. Balfour-Paul Esq.,
British Political Residency,
BAHRAIN.

Perhaps we had better briefly join in. Please try your hand at a draft for submission. After explaining briefly that Nasserism is not the force here that CONFIDENTIAL it is elsewhere (see hq's minute) you could continue on the lines of A.O. 55/1 your own minute at C.

S.S. Dft. AS 4.XI

the Syrian Red Guards to the Egyptains. I shall not be surprised if we see more Syrian influence in Bahrain in the next year or two.

(A.D. Parsons)

Copies to: North and East African Dept. (F.O.)
Arabian Department (F.O.)
Chancery (Washington)
(Paris)
(Moscow)
(New York)
(Aden)
(Algiers)
(Amman)
(Beirut)
(Benghazi)
(Cairo)
(Khartoum)
(Rabat)
(Tel Aviv)
(Tripoli)
(Tunis)

1076

Reference Paris Letter 1071
8 29/10.

My impression is that Nasser falls between two stools here in Morocco as far as prestige goes. On the one hand we have the government, who have never approved of his adventuring and have barely bothered to conceal the fact; on the other, the Istiqlal and other nationalists to whom his new, more moderate and realistic approach cannot be entirely welcome — their own attitude being akin to the Algerians', passionate, unrealistic and basically ineffective. But both sides still pay lip service to Nasser, the government because he is the devil they know, the others because he is still the only leader with any vestige of pan-Arab appeal.

2. It should not be forgotten that Morocco is basically uninterested in Middle Eastern affairs, and until the recent war galvanised their national consciousness, most Moroccans hardly looked beyond Algeria in terms of Arab power politics.

A.L. Southorn 21.XI

J.O.
H. of C. / It is my ...

Ed (1626)

It is my belief from experience that Nasserism can thrive in countries other than Egypt only if it is nourished by Cairo Radio and supported by an echelon of Egyptian School Teachers.

2. Here, unlike most Arab countries, there are no Egyptian School Teachers, and distance, geography, orientation, language and mountain barriers all play their part in dismissing Cairo Radio as a factor of importance.

3. I believe that without these two elements - teachers and radio - and particularly without the first - Nasserism, [redacted] - at least the ~~aggressive~~ militant ~~nationalist~~ Nasserism which attacks HMG's interests — can barely hope to survive.

4. There was a remarkable example of this in Bahrain in 1963 where Nasserism was rife. When the Egyptian teachers went off on their summer holidays the Bahrain Government, without warning, gave them all one-way tickets. The effect on Nasserism in Bahrain was disastrous.

A Summerhayes.
21 Nov 1967

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS MARGIN.

Kuwait letter
8/29/10/67. (Vol I)

CONFIDENTIAL.

Minutes.

Nasser's current ratings here.

The Moroccans I have spoken to still believe that Nasser is a potential trouble maker for moderate Arab States, but that he is preferable to others who might show more extremism and fanaticism to assert themselves and win leadership and power.

They think that, at least, Nasser has learnt a lesson and might remain harmless for a long while.

The Moroccans refer to above are Ahmed Laghmassi, Secretary-general of M.F.A., Larbi Bennani of the Arabian Division, Abdelmajid Benjelloun of the Asian Division and Abdel Wahed Chraibi, Attaché at the Cabinet and brother-in-law of the Minister of P.T.T.

A. Nasser 13/11/67

As I see it the position in the Maghreb is very different to what it is in the Middle East proper, and Nasserism is not the problem it is in places like Lebanon and Kuwait, let alone Libya. In the first place there is no Nasserist party in Morocco. The U.N.F.P. have left-wing American attitudes and origins, and the leader, Ben Barka, is an Arab, and was in the past more closely connected with the Muslim brotherhood than any other Eastern Movement. In the second place the one 'revolutionary' power in the Maghreb, Algeria, since the overthrow of Ben Bella, has taken a line independent of Nasser and sometimes hostile to the Egyptians. There is of course no Nasserist press - I have never seen copies of Nasser's pictures up - a few copies of Egyptian papers and Radio Cairo is widely heard on sale, but Algiers does not have flights here and distance

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS MARGIN.

itself weakens Nasser influence. The only place that Nasser is really impinges on Morocco is in International Gatherings (either the U.N. or Arab summits etc). Here Morocco is all too likely to toe the Majority line (much to the disgust of people like the Tunisians and the Saudis) and to see her moderating influence in lobbying only.

The Moroccans I have spoken to are also inclined to believe that Nasser has learnt a lesson and that his views in International Affairs will be muted and moderated by his experiences. Nasserist subversion, of the type experienced in the East, has never come within these purviews.

J Walker 21/11

I agree in general with the view that Nasserism is of little significance here. I was more concerned with the present attitude of leading people here to his survival in power. On this point nothing further emerges which is worth reporting.

22/11

Ed (1626)

CONFIDENTIAL

(1076/67)

Chancery,
RABAT.

With the compliments of

the British Political Agent

at Bahrain

(A.D. Parsons)

18 November, 1967

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY
28 NOV 1967

CONFIDENTIAL

SERVICE TELEX

PRODROME RABAT

PRODROME LONDON

FCO 7034/1 GR 4 IA

IMMEDIATE FOREIGN OFFICE TO RABAT

TELNO 91 OF 21 NOV 1 ST.

~~FOLLOWING RECEIVED FROM UKMIS NEW YORK~~

~~ADDRESSED TO FOREIGN OFFICE TELNO 2189 OF 20 NOVEMBER REPEATED FOR~~

~~INFO~~

FOLLOWING RECEIVED FROM UKMIS NEW YORK.

ADDRESSED TO FOREIGN OFFICE TELNO 2189 OF 20 NOVEMBER REPEATED FOR

~~INFO~~

INFORMATION TO WASHINGTON MOSCOW AND OTHER POSTS.

MYTEL NO 2181:

SECURITY COUNCIL - MIDDLE EAST.

TEXT OF SOVIET DRAFT RESOLUTION AS TABLED THIS AFTERNOON IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS AS FOLLOWS:-

BEGINS.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

EXPRESSING CONCERN AT THE LACK OF PROGRESS TOWARDS A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND AT THE INCREASED TENSION IN THE AREA,

NOTING THAT THERE HAVE EVEN BEEN VIOLATIONS OF THE CEASE-FIRE CALLED FOR BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN ITS RESOLUTIONS 233 OF 6 JUNE, 234 OF 7 JUNE, 235 OF 8 JUNE AND 236 OF 14 JUNE 1967, WHICH WAS REGARDED AS A FIRST STEP TOWARDS THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A JUST PEACE IN THE AREA AND MUST BE STRENGTHENED BY OTHER APPROPRIATE MEASURES,

RECALLING GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTIONS 2252 (ES-V), 2253 (ES-V), 2254 (ES-V) AND 2256 (ES-V),

EMPHASISING THE URGENT NECESSITY OF RESTORING PEACE AND ESTABLISHING NORMAL CONDITIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST,

1. DECLARES THAT PEACE AND FINAL SOLUTIONS TO THIS PROBLEM CAN BE ACHIEVED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS:

2. URGES THAT THE FOLLOWING STEPS SHOULD BE TAKEN:

(A) THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT SHOULD IMMEDIATELY WITHDRAW THEIR FORCES TO THE POSITIONS THEY HELD BEFORE 5 JUNE 1967 IN KEEPING WITH THE PRINCIPLE THAT THE SEIZURE OF TERRITORY BY MEANS OF WAR IS INADMISSIBLE;

1076.

separate summary. Yes.

2.6 seems not acceptable U.S. No specific up (? search to face - ? solution not effort assure de l'appui U-S.

SERVICE TELEX ◇ SERVICE TELEX ◇ SERVICE TELEX

(B) ALL STATES MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE AREA SHOULD IMMEDIATELY RECOGNIZE THAT EACH HAS THE RIGHT TO EXIST AS AN INDEPENDENT NATIONAL STATE AND TO LIVE IN PEACE AND SECURITY AND SHOULD IMMEDIATELY DENOUNCE ALL CLAIMS AND DESIST FROM ALL ACTS INCONSISTENT WITH THE FOREGOING;

3. DEEMS IT NECESSARY IN THIS CONNEXION TO CONTINUE ITS CONSIDERATION OF THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST, HOPING DIRECTLY WITH THE PARTIES CONCERNED AND MAKING USE OF THE PRESENCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS, WITH THE VIEW TO ACHIEVING AN APPROPRIATE AND JUST SOLUTION OF ALL ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM ON THE BASIS OF THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES:

(A) THE USE OR THREAT OF FORCE IN RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS;

(B) EVERY STATE MUST RESPECT THE POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF ALL OTHER STATES IN THE AREA;

(C) THERE MUST BE A JUST SETTLEMENT OF THE QUESTION OF THE PALESTINE REFUGEES;

(D) INNOCENT PASSAGE THROUGH INTERNATIONAL WATERWAYS IN THE AREA IN ACCORDANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS;

4. CONSIDERS THAT, IN KEEPING WITH THE STEPS TO BE TAKEN ALONG THE LINES INDICATED ABOVE, ALL STATES IN THE AREA SHOULD PUT AN END TO THE STATE OF BELLIGERENCY, TAKE MEASURES TO LIMIT THE ARMS RACE AND DESTRUCTIVE ARMS BASE, AND DISCHARGE THE OBLIGATIONS ASSUMED BY THEM UNDER THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS.

END=

S J PASS IMMEDIATE TO AMMAN 47, BONN 7, PARIS 606, TOKYO 47, COPENHAGEN 17, LAGOS 14, SOFIA 11, TEL AVIV 600, CAIRO 204, BEIRUT 37, JEDDA 11, KUWAIT 2, NABAT , TUNIS 38, TRIPOLI 14, KARTOUM 24, ADDIS ABABA 73, NEW DELHI 7, BUENOS AIRES 102, RIO DE JANEIRO 77, BAHRAIN 12, TEHRAN 41, RAWALPINDI 13, ANKARA 19, AND USDEL NATO 33.

SECRET/NODIS

WT

PRODROME RABAT

210477Z AW

CONFIDENTIAL

1076

FOREIGN OFFICE,

LONDON, S.W.1.

21 November, 1967.

Dear Gilbert,

Many thanks for your letter of 14 November about King Hassan's views on the Arab/Israel problem as conveyed to Mrs. Massouh.

2. The King's views sound distinctly gloomy and ominous. I must admit that there have been some other straws in the wind of a similar kind; in particular there has been a tendency on the part of some Egyptians to take the line that it is no use trying for peace with Israel at present and that the war will just have to go on, even though it may not start up again immediately. Nevertheless our information is that the Arab armies (that of Jordan especially), quite apart from their temporary loss of equipment, have sustained a real psychological shock from the recent war. This fact, and the reports available to us of the Khartoum Conference, make us believe that the present Arab desire to look for a peaceful and political settlement is a genuine one, for the moment at least.

3. This new Egyptian line therefore probably contains an element of blackmail in the hope that because of it greater pressure will be put on the Israelis to come to a settlement now which is acceptable to the Arabs. At the moment of writing there still seems a prospect that the Security Council will agree on a compromise resolution - whether ours or someone else's - but if no agreement is reached the outlook is not tremendously rosy. The Arabs' present moderation will not be easy for them to sustain domestically in the absence of any positive results for them. I hasten to add, however, that these are just personal thoughts.

Yours ever,

Denis Speares

(D. J. Speares)

A.O.S. 29/11/67
H.O. 24/11/67
H.Q. 24/11
27/11/67

L. G. Holliday, Esq., C.M.G.,
RABAT.

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY
28 NOV 1967

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1076

INWARD TELEGRAM

En Clair
Code Code R
Cypher
(Paraphrase Heading)
Cypher/OTP
En Clair by Conf. Bag

Cypher/CAT A

[Distribution Heading]

FROM F.O. TO RABAT

[Signature]

[No. and prefix] No. 612 Dated 4.36 P.M. 21/11.

[Date] 21 NOV R 1.46 P.M. 21/11.

Repeated to

[Priority] IMMEDIATE

I think that we should at least remind the Secretary of State on the secret resolution and make the point that if passed alone it will leave the matter in the air, with no practical action foreseen.

A.L. Southern 21.XI

H. of C. Traveller 21/11

H.E.

I.O.

we might try to do this at a lower level than the Minister of F.A.

CONFIDENTIAL

FOLLOWING RECEIVED FROM UKMIS NEW YORK

ADDRESSED TO FOREIGN OFFICE TELEGRAM NO. 3321 OF

20 NOVEMBER REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO

WASHINGTON, OTTAWA AND OTHER POSTS.

YOUR TELEGRAM NO. 2509 TO AMMAN:

SECURITY COUNCIL - MIDDLE EAST.

WE ARE MOST GRATEFUL FOR THE GREAT EFFORT

WHICH HAS BEEN MADE IN POSTS TO OBTAIN SUPPORT

FOR OUR DRAFT RESOLUTION. THESE HAVE TRANSFORMED

AN OUTSIDE CHANCE INTO WHAT MUST NOW BE

CONSIDERED A STRONG RUNNER.

2. THE SOVIET UNION THIS AFTERNOON TABLED A NEW

TEXT (SEE MY TELEGRAM NO. 3323) AND OBTAINED

FROM THE COUNCIL A RECESS OF 48 HOURS. IT IS

CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT IT IS NOT A SERIOUS ATTEMPT

TO PRODUCE A RESOLUTION WHICH CAN PASS IN THE

Council

1076/67.

DISTRIBUTION

1076/67.

Map A.

ADVANCE COPIES TO:—

389.Wt.37518/D161.1000.11/63.C.P.L.Gp.626.

COUNCIL. IT WOULD BE EVEN MORE UNACCEPTABLE to Americans TO THE ISRAELIS THAN THE INDIAN TEXT AND DOES NOT EVEN PROVIDE FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE. IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO BE SURE WHAT SOVIET INTENTIONS ARE. WE MUST HOPE THAT IT IS NO MORE THAN A FACE-SAVER. TO SHOW THAT THE RUSSIANS DID THEIR BEST FOR THE ARAB CAUSE. BUT IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE THAT IT IS PART OF A WRECKING OPERATION WHICH WE MUST DO OUR UTMOST TO DEFEAT.

3. I HOPE THEREFORE THAT ALL POSTS (EXCEPT MOSCOW AND SOFIA) WILL. UNLESS THEY BELIEVE THAT THIS WOULD BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE OR UNNECESSARY, CONTINUE TO URGE ON THE GOVERNMENTS TO WHICH THEY ARE ACCREDITED THE MERITS OF THE U.K. TEXT.

(A) THEY CAN MAKE THE POINTS THAT IT HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY OBVIOUS FROM THE REACTIONS WHICH WE HAVE HAD FROM CAPITALS INCLUDING ARAB CAPITALS AND FROM DELEGATIONS HERE THAT OURS IS THE ONE TEXT CAPABLE OF ACHIEVING A WIDE MEASURE OF AGREEMENT IN THE COUNCIL AND THE ACQUIESCENCE OF THE PARTIES AND THUS OF LEADING TO EFFECTIVE ACTION ON THE GROUND.

(B) THE UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE THIS

afternoon

AFTERNOON GAVE AN EXPLICIT COMMITMENT IN THE COUNCIL THAT IF THE UNITED KINGDOM TEXT WERE PASSED THE DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS OF THE UNITED STATES WOULD BE EXERTED UNDER IT TO ENSURE THE SUCCESS OF THE EFFORTS OF THE SPECIAL REPRESENNTIVE.

THIS MUST BE OF GREATER VALUE TO THE ARABS THAN ANY OTHER RESOLUTION.

(C) IT IS OBVIOUS FROM ITS WORDING THAT THE SOVIET RESOLUTION IS NOT INTENDED AS A SERIOJS ATTEMPT TO PROVIDE A BASIS FOR EFFECTIVE COUNCIL ACTION.

WE THUS CONTINUE TO HOPE THAT OUR TEXT WILL RECEIVE UNANIMOUS. OR AT LEAST NEAR UNANIMOUS SUPPORT IN THE COUNCIL SINCE A RESOLUTION WITH SUCH SUPPORT WOULD GREATLY STRENGTHEN THE HAND OF THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE APPOINTED UNDER IT.

A SEPARATE TELEGRAM FOLLOWS TO LATIN AMERICAN POSTS.

F.O. PASS IMMEDIATE AMMAN 455. MOSCOW 595.

PARIS 500. TOKYO 46. COPENHAGEN 139. LAGOS 18.

SOFIA 10. TEL AVIV 601. CAIRO 202. BEIRUT 199.

JEDDE 107. KUWAIT 28. RABAT 18. TUNIS 32. TRIPOLI 13.

KHARTOUM 21. ADDIS ABABA 52. NEW DELHI 78,

BUENOS AIRES 100. RIO DE JANEIRO 75. BAHRAIN 11.

TEHRAN 40. RAWALPINDI 12. ANKARA 93 AND UKDEL

NATO 32. SOSFA.

Reference.....

As Y.E. probably knows, the Security Council was adjourned to consider their resolution. We have received no guidance on it as yet, but we would almost certainly work against it as it does not set out to achieve anything on the ground. It is interesting to note, however, that para 4 calls for a limitation of the arms race.

F. Walker 21/11

Ed.

I fear that the Arabs will climb on board because § 2 (A) is more specific than the corresponding § in our draft — which, however, will be voted on first.

21/XI

Yes. J. M. Allen.

I think this draft resolution has since been rejected & that the Security Council meets on 22/11/67 to consider the British draft resolution.

C. Pearson 21/11/67

10.

E.S. To see
ACS 21.XI

Ed (1626)

INWARD TELEGRAM

En Clair
Code Code R
Cypher
(Paraphrase Heading)
Cypher/OTP
En Clair by Conf. Bag

Cypher / Cat. A

[Distribution Heading]

FROM FO TO Rabat

[Signature]

[No. and prefix] No. U/N Dep'd. 10.05 p.M 21/11

[Date] 21. XI R 10.05 p.M 21/..

Repeated to

[Priority] IMMEDIATE

CONF IDENTIAL

ADDRESSED TO AMMAN TELNO 2524 OF 21 NOVEMBER

AND UNNUMBERED TO CERTAIN OTHER POSTS

REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO UKDEL NATO

WASHINGTON.

UKMIS N.Y. 3321: MIDDLE EAST

10/6/67.

DISTRIBUTION

THE RESULTS OF THE HARD WORK IN NEW YORK AND IN CAPITALS HAVE BEEN MOST ENCOURAGING. PLEASE, AT YOUR DISCRETION, SPEAK FURTHER ON THE LINES SUGGESTED.

SOSFA

ADVANCE COPIES TO:—

This authorises us to take action. I will be meeting M. Bennani Head of Arabian section M.F.A at 10 a.m. on South Arabia. I do not propose to raise the U.N. situation unless asked.

A.L. Scutton 22.XI

H. of D. Thwaites 22/11

H.E.

Action Reference See Off Folder

22/XI

389.Wt.37518/D161.1000.11/63.C.P.L.Gp.626.

TELEGRAM

1076.

~~Cypher~~

~~Code~~

Clear

From :— RABAT *To :—* FOREIGN OFFICE

Despatched Received

No. 441 of 21 November, 1967.

ROUTINE
UNCLASSIFIED

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 441 of 21 November.

Telegram No. 1176 from Cairo to Foreign Office.

If you wish me to reinforce this briefing by direct approach to Moroccan Foreign Minister please telegraph guidance on what you would wish me to say.

HOLLIDAY

(1076/67)

TELEGRAM

Cypher

~~Cipher~~

~~Code~~

From:— RABAT *To:—* FOREIGN OFFICE

Despatched Received

No. 444 of 22 November, 1967.

FLASH
CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 444 of 22 November.

Your telegram No. 2524 to Amman and my telegram No. 433.

2. I hope to see Foreign Minister again later today. He is sure to ask whether we are prepared to accept any amendments. Press reports from Cairo say that we have refused. What is the position?

HOLLIDAY

(1076/67) **TELEGRAM**

Cypher

~~OXOX~~

~~OXOX~~

From :— RABAT *To :—* FOREIGN OFFICE

Despatched Received

No. 445 of 22 November, 1967.

IMMEDIATE
CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 445 of 22 November. Repeated for information Immediate to UKMIS, New York. 25

Your telegram No. 2542 to Amman.

. Foreign Minister received me at noon. He too could not see the point of the Soviet resolution. It was vaguely drafted and open to the objections I had mentioned. Paragraph 2(A) in particular would not be popular with Arab governments. He doubted if it would win more than two or three votes. The Moroccan position was not affected by this new text. It remained as set out in my telegram No. 433.

2. Minister asked me to come and see him again as soon as I had your comments on para. 2(a) and (b) of that telegram.

HOLLIDAY

(5517) A.O.St.

1076

INWARD TELEGRAM

En Clair
Code Code R
Cypher
(Paraphrase Heading)
Cypher/OTP
En Clair by Conf. Bag

Cypher / Cat. A

[Distribution Heading]

FROM F.O. TO RABAT

[Signature]

[No. and prefix] No. 616 Dcyd. 10.50 p.m. 22/11.

[Date] 22.XI.67 R 9.51 p.m. 22/11.

Repeated to our resolution passed unanimously by Committee was A.L. Southorn 22.XI

[Priority] IMMEDIATE 23/11

H.E.

CONFIDENTIAL

ADDRESSES TO RABAT TELEGRAM NUMBER 616 OF 22ND NOVEMBER REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO UK MISSION NEW YORK.

YOUR TELEGRAM NUMBER 445: MIDDLE EAST.

PLEASE THANK FOREIGN MINISTER FOR HIS HELPFUL GESTURE IN INSTRUCTING THE MOROCCAN DELEGATE IN NEW YORK TO COMMEND OUR RESOLUTION TO HIS ARAB COLLEAGUES.

2. YOU MAY ADD THAT WHILE OUR TEXT IS NECESSARILY NOT IDEAL EITHER FROM AN ARAB OR ISRAELI POINT OF VIEW, IT DOES REPRESENT A VERY CAREFULLY BALANCED FORMULATION WORKED OUT IN THE LIGHT OF THE KNOWN VIEWS OF THE PARTIES CONCERNED IN AN ATTEMPT TO FIND A TEXT WITH WHICH BOTH SIDES COULD LIVE. AS IT NOW STANDS, IT

DISTRIBUTION

Off Letter to Minister. (whom I shall be seeing at 5 o'clock)

ADVANCE COPIES TO:—

Hyderabad.

389.Wt.37518/D161.1000.11/63.C.P.L.Gp.626.

has secured

HAS SECURED A VERY WIDE MEASURE OF AGREEMENT: IT HAS THE SUPPORT OF THE AMERICANS AND THERE ARE GOOD GROUNDS FOR HOPING THAT ARABS AND ISRAELIS WILL GO ALONG WITH IT. ANY ATTEMPT TO AMEND IT AT THIS STAGE HOWEVER, WOULD BE BOUND TO LOSE THE SUPPORT OF ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER AND WE SHOULD MISS THIS UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY FOR OBTAINING AN AGREED RESOLUTION UNDER WHICH A UN REPRESENTATIVE COULD START HIS CONCILIATORY TASK WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF BOTH SIDES. A RESOLUTION WITHOUT THIS SUPPORT WOULD BE VALUELESS, AS IT WOULD SECURE NO CONSTRUCTIVE RESULT ON THE GROUND.

3. FOR YOUR OWN INFORMATION THE PARTICULAR CHANGES SUGGESTED BY THE MOROCCAN FOREIGN MINISTER WOULD BE QUITE UNACCEPTABLE TO THE ISRAELIS (AND ALSO PROBABLY THE AMERICANS): THE FIRST ON THE GROUNDS THAT IT WOULD IMPLY A RETURN TO THE 5 JUNE LINES WITHOUT MODIFICATION AND THE SECOND BECAUSE OF THE IMPORTANCE THEY ATTACH TO ARAB RECOGNITION OF WHATEVER BOUNDARIES ARE EVENTUALLY AGREED.

SOSFA

SERVICE TELEX ◇ SERVICE TELEX ◇

PRODROME RABAT
PRODROME LONDON

1076

PRODROME RABAT
[illegible] FO LDN GP [illegible] 7
PRIORITY FOREIGN OFFICE TO RABAT
TELEGRAM NUMBER [illegible] [illegible] NOVEMBER [illegible] 67

Thursday 23/11
[illegible]
E.S. ARS 23.XI
L.O. [illegible] 23/11/67

FOLLOWING RECEIVED FROM UKMIS NEW YORK.
ADDRESSED TO FOREIGN OFFICE TELNO 357 OF [illegible] NOVEMBER REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO WASHINGTON OTTAWA AND OTHER POSTS.

MIDDLE EAST: SECURITY COUNCIL.

THE COUNCIL TODAY UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED THE U K DRAFT RESOLUTION TEXT AS IN UKMIS TELNO [illegible]. THE DRAFT RESOLUTIONS TABLED BY INDIA, MALI AND NIGERIA: THE UNITED STATES: AND BY THE SOVIET UNION HERE NOT PRESSED TO A VOTE.

FO POASS RABAT [illegible] SOSFA

PRODROME RABAT

SENT [illegible] FH

1076

A25 6.XII
X

CONFIDENTIAL

CYPHER/CAT A
IMMEDIATE UKMIS NEW YORK
TELEGRAM NO 3373

TO FOREIGN OFFICE
22 NOVEMBER 1967

CONFIDENTIAL
ADDRESSED TO FOREIGN OFFICE TELNO 3373 OF 22 NOVEMBER REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO WASHINGTON OTTAWA AND OTHER POSTS.

MYTEL NO 3372:
MIDDLE EAST.

WE DID NOT KNOW FOR CERTAIN HOW THE VOTE WOULD GO TILL THE FIFTEEN HANDS WENT UP.

2. OUR DIFFICULTIES THROUGH THE DAY UP TO THE TIME THE COUNCIL MET AT 4 P M AROSE FROM THE DETERMINATION OF PARTHASARATHI (INDIA) TO MAKE A STATEMENT BEFORE THE VOTE STATING HIS UNDERSTANDING THAT THE WORDING OF THE BRITISH DRAFT RESOLUTION MEANT THAT ISRAEL MUST WITHDRAW FROM ALL OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. THE DANGER WAS THAT HIS INTERPRETATION WOULD LEAD OTHERS TO STATE CONTRARY INTERPRETATIONS AND THAT THE CHANCES OF AGREEMENT WOULD THEN BE LOST. OTHER DELEGATIONS INCLUDING CERTAINLY THE U S WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN CONTENT TO ALLOW THE INDIAN INTERPRETATION TO STAND UNCHALLENGED. ON THE OTHER HAND KUTZNETSOV (U S S R) AND RIAD (U A R) WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN PREPARED TO SUPPORT OUR RESOLUTION IF THE INDIAN INTERPRETATION HAD BEEN CHALLENGED. SO I PREPARED A SHORT STATEMENT TO BE MADE AFTER THE INDIAN SPEECH MERELY STATING THE OBVIOUS THAT EVERY DELEGATION IN STATING INTERPRETATIONS AND UNDERSTANDINGS SPEAKS FOR ITSELF ALONE. WE HAD SOME TROUBLE IN GETTING THE WORDING OF THIS STATEMENT AGREED BUT JUST BEFORE THE COUNCIL MET INDIA, THE U A R AND THE U S S R WERE PERSUADED IN THAT ORDER AT THE LAST MOMENT.

3. WE SCARCELY DARED HOPE THAT THE U S S R (WITH BULGARIA AND MALI) WOULD VOTE AS THEY DID FOR OUR RESOLUTION.

4. KUTZNETSOV HAS THROUGHOUT BEEN OUT OF HIS WAY TO BE FRIENDLY AND HELPFUL. I LIKE HIM PERSONALLY VERY MUCH AND I FOUND HIM VERY SENSIBLE AND STRAIGHTFORWARD. I BELIEVE HE HAS BEEN QUIETLY DOING HIS BEST OVER RECENT WEEKS TO GET THE ARABS TO BE SENSIBLE TAKING CARE TO GET OUT AHEAD.

?

/ 5. NIGERIA

CONFIDENTIAL

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY
28 NOV 1967

CONFIDENTIAL

U.K. MISSION NEW YORK TELEGRAM NO. 3373 TO FOREIGN OFFICE

. NIGERIA THROUGHOUT AND ETHIOPIA TOO WERE ON OUR SIDE, AND
NDIA TOWARDS THE END DID ITS BEST TO FIND A WAY THROUGH.
. THE LATIN AMERICANS NEEDED A LOT OF NURSING BUT THE WORK DONE
Y OUR AMBASSADORS IN RIO AND BUENOS AIRES FINALLY WON THEM OVER.
. THE CANADIANS AND DANES WERE FIRM SUPPORTERS.
. OUTSIDE THE COUNCIL THE RUMANIANS (PARTICULARLY MANESCU HIMSELF)
ND THE YUGOSLAVS WORKED HARD TO HELP US.
. AMONGST THE ARABS RIFAI (JORDAN) AND PACHACHI (IRAQ) AND BEN
IMA (MOROCCO) DID THEIR BEST TO GET AND KEEP RIAD ON THE RAILS.
. WE ARE MORE THAN GRATEFUL FOR ALL THE WORK DONE IN LONDON AND
N CAPITALS.

O PASS MOSCOW 6Ø3, PARIS 6Ø9, NEW DELHI 83, AMMAN 462, CAIRO 2Ø8,
EL AVIV 6Ø7, RIO DE JANEIRO 81, BUENOS AIRES 1Ø6, LAGOS 21,
OPENHAGEN 142,ESBNIA 13, BEIRUT 2Ø5, ADDIS ABABA 55 AND SAVING TO
ELGRADE 5 AND BUCHAREST 7.

ORD CARADON

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

FO/CO/WH. DISTRIBUTION
EASTERN DEPT.

ADVANCE COPIES SENT

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1076.

PRODROME RABAT
PRODROME RABAT
PRODROME LONDON
PRODROME RABAT

FORAB [illegible] FO LDN GRPS [illegible]

PRIORITY FOREIGN OFFICE TO PRODROME RABAT
TELEGRAM NUMBER [illegible] . [illegible] NOVEMBER, [illegible]

FOLLOWING RECEIVED FROM UKMIS NEW YORK.
ADDRESSED TO ADDIS ABABA TELEGRAM NO [illegible] OF [illegible] NOVEMBER
AND TO OTHER POSTS REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

MY TELM NO. 3372 TO F.O. MIDDLE EAST : SECURITY COUNCIL.
TEXT OF U.K. RESOLUTION WAS SENT TO YOU BY F.O.
UNDER THEIR NO. [illegible] TO PARIS. NOT AS OUR TEL NO. [illegible] OF [illegible]
NOVEMBER.

= [illegible]

This is all right; presumably a typographical error now amended.

ALS 27.XI

PRODROME RABAT

SENT [illegible]

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1076.

Orig on 1510

Arab Recognition of South Arabia's Independence Negotiated by N.L.F.

At a big Dinner Dance given yesterday by the Senegalese Ambassador I was able to sound a number of senior Moroccans and some Arab Ambassadors discreetly about the above.

Ahmed Senoussi, Minister of Information, had no doubt about Morocco's immediate recognition, and believed that no Arab country had any grounds to object. Larbi Bennani, Head of the "Moyen Orient et Ligue Arabe" Division of MFA shared the same view and said to me confidentially later on that the Moroccan member on the Tripartite Commission has been consulted by telegram and his reply was expected today. Bennani felt sure that this reply would be in the affirmative. For an Istiqlali I thought Bennani's attitude was very mild in regard to the present development.

The Jordanian Ambassador freely discussed with me the Middle East crisis and Jordan's eagerness to have it settled one way or another. He sounded rather vehement in his confirmation of the truth of "Le Monde's" account of King Hussein's press conference in Paris, and his implied agreement to negotiations, through a third Party, with Israel with a view to a reinstatement of peace. He also confirmed that Jamal Abdul Nasser was of this same view and that the two Heads of State were now working in harmony. The Ambassador himself then diverted the conversation to the Geneva negotiations and hoped that they will culminate in an agreement on independence which will settle one of the outstanding Arab problems. He thought that no sensible Arab State would withold recognition of this independence. At this point the Iraqi Ambassador joined us and fully agreed with this view.

Shd. A. Massouh.
23.11.67.

H. of C.
H.E.

Mr. Larbi Bennani is still worried a bit about the Saudi attitu e. The Saudis are apparently still showing no softening of attitude towards the N.L.F. and are clinging to the S.A.L. and the various Sheikhs.

Sgd. F.W.Walker
25.11.67.

le 23 novembre 1967

Monsieur le Ministre,

Guidé par le principe que je ne dois déranger Votre Excellence par des visites qu'en cas de nécessité, je n'ai pas demandé d'audience pour vous communiquer la réponse de mon Gouvernement aux suggestions faites par Votre Excellence au sujet de la résolution que nous avions soumise au Conseil de Sécurité, parce que, en même temps que cette réponse, j'ai reçu la nouvelle que le Conseil avait adopté notre texte à l'unanimité.

Toutefois je suis chargé de remercier Votre Excellence de l'appui accordé par la délégation marocaine auprès des Nations Unies à nos efforts pour trouver un texte qui soit acceptable à toutes les parties en cause. Evidemment, ce texte ne correspondait pas à la formulation idéale que l'une ou l'autre des parties aurait souhaitée, mais il représentait un compromis très délicat entre les divers points de vue, et pour cette raison ne pouvait être modifé davantage afin de le rapprocher des thèses des uns ou des autres.

Espérons tous que le résultat qui a été obtenu à New York permettra au Représentant à désigner par les Nations Unies de commencer sa tâche de conciliation avec l'appui de tous, et d'arriver à des résultats constructifs sur les lieux mêmes. Tel a été, dès le commencement de ces débats, l'intention de mon Gouvernement.

Je vous prie de croire, Monsieur le Ministre, à l'assurance de ma haute considération.

(L.C. Holliday)

Son Excellence Monsieur le Docteur
Ahmed Laraki,
Ministre des Affaires Etrangères,
RABAT.

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS MARGIN.

CONFIDENTIAL. 1076

Minutes.

The British Resolution at the Security Council.

At the Indian Chargé d'Affaires' Luncheon Party today Hassan el Fassi of the MFA Protocol broke the news of the uninamous adoption of the British Resolution at the Security Council.

When Suleiman Dajjani asked for some details, such as Jerusalem's fate, whether or not a date was fixed for the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces and freedom of navigation through the Suez and other Canals, el Fassi shook his head rather dubiously and disapprovingly, saying that as far as he knows nothing specific was said about Jerusalem, no date was fixed for withdrawal, and that everybody was to have freedom of navigation through the Canals. When I remarked that Britain has always been a staunch protector of freedom of the seas the American Second Secretary Mr. Schmidt said rather sarcastically that this was because her main purpose was the protection of her interests; and el Fassi agreed with this view, and kept shaking his head with approval when Dajjani went through a big rigmarole and sentimenal account of why Moslems had the right to be in control in Jerusalem, and not the United Nations. Mr. Schmidt's argument that the Jews had been deprived of the right of acces to the wailing wall sounded rather weak in comparison.

By the way I gathered that Abderrahim ~~Hav~~ Harkett, present Head of the MFA Press Division, is to take over charge of the "Division Europe" when Abdallah Lamrani will go as Ambassador to India.

A. Marsoul
23/11/1967.

H. of C. AW.
H.E.

A.To.

Mr. Harkat was replaced by Mr. Tazi in Press Divon some 3 months ago.

M.F.P

maybe it would be worth while
contacting Mr. Hassan al Fassis
myself a bit if I see him
at the Canadian party.

JWalker.

Miss Marrone may like to
know the line to plug on
such occasions:

We realize that the text
is not ideal, either from
the Arab or the Israeli point
of view. An ideal resolution
from either point of view
has proved to be unacceptable
to the other side. Our view
has been that it was more
important to create the con-
ditions for progress in the
Middle East itself than to con-
tinue sterile debates in New
York. Our Resolution represents the
best working and workable com-
promise that all parties were
willing to accept. Once the U-N.
Representative arrives in the M-E.
it will be possible to begin to
make progress towards a
lasting

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS MARGIN. NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Reference 1076

lasting & equitable solution.
We do not claim that the
Resolution is more than a first
step. We do claim that it was
an essential one. If things had
dragged on any longer the
whole world, the situation on
the ground, which is what
matters would have got
steadily worse.

A.D.S. Notes of
I.G. may also come to see
Thank you

27/11/67

1076

INWARD TELEGRAM

En Clair
Code Code R
Cypher
(Paraphrase Heading)
Cypher/OTP
En Clair by Conf. Bag

Cypher/CAIRO

[Distribution Heading]

FROM F.O TO RABAT.

[Signature]

[No. and prefix] No. 623

Dec'd 3.15 P.M 27/11

[Date] 24 November.

R 4.41 A.M 26/11.

Repeated to

A.L. Southorn 27.XI

H. of C 27/11

[Priority] ROUTINE.

CONFIDENTIAL

FOLLOWING RECEIVED FROM CAIRO.

ADDRESSED TO FOREIGN OFFICE TEL NO 1217 OF 24/11

REPEATED FOR INFMN TO UKMIS NEW YORK WASHINGTON

BEIRUT BAHRAIN (RESIDENCY) AMMAN ALGIERS

BENGHAZI JEDDA KHARTOUM KUWAIT RABAT TRIPOLI

TUNIS TEL AVIV TIC ADEN HC ADEN (PERSONAL) JIC

NICOSIA MOSCOW AND PARIS.

DISTRIBUTION

FOLLOWING ARE MY OWN IMPRESSIONS OF PRESIDENT NASSERS TELEVISED SPEECH LAST NIGHT TO NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. FULLER SUMMARY FOLLOWS. AND FULL TEXT BY BAG.

2. MAIN THEMES WERE:

(A) POLITICAL ACTION CANNOT RPT NOT BE EFFECTIVE WITHOUT BASE OF MILITARY POWER. EGYPT HAS ALREADY REBUILT ITS DEFENCE TO PRE JUNE LEVEL AND IS PRESSING ON TO ACQUIRE OFFENSIVE POWER.

ADVANCE COPIES TO:—

389.Wt.37518/D161.1000.11/63.C.P.L.Gp.626.

1(B)

(B) THE ECONOMIC BASIS FOR THIS POLICY IS ALREADY ADEQUATE.

(C) THE HOMEFRONT IS NOW SOLID AND PRESIDENT WILL NOT RPT NOT RESIGN UNTIL CONSEQUENCES OF DEFEAT ARE ELIMINATED.

(D) THE WHOLE SYSTEM, ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND MILITARY, IS BEING RAPIDLY RID OF ITS DEVIATIONS, INEFFICIENCIES AND INJUSTICES: AND ALLEGATIONS OF INTERNAL DIFFERENCES ARE MERE PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE.

(E) ON CENTRAL QUESTION OF ISRAEL HIS ACTUAL WORDS (QUOTED VERBATIM IN MY NO 1216) DID NOT STRICTLY SPEAKING GO BEYOND SAYING THAT POLITICAL ACTION ALONE IS NOT RPT NOT ENOUGH. HE SAYS THAT QUOTE THE BRIT RESLN IS NOT RPT NOT ADEQUATE FOR FINDING A SOUND SOLUTION UNQUOTE. HE DOES NOT RPT NOT ACTUALLY REJECT IT-IT IS TO BE STUDIED AND QUOTE DISCUSSED WITH OUR FRIENDS UNQUOTE: IN DETAIL. THE INSISTENCE ON TOTAL WITHDRAWAL IS NOTHING NEW. AND PASSAGE OF ISRAEL THROUGH SUEZ CANAL IS LINKED TO SOLUTION OF REFUGEE PROBLEM. AS IN OUR RESLN. BUT HIS SUDDEN INITIAL STATEMENT QUOTE WHAT IS TAKEN BY FORCE SHOULD BE RESTORED BY FORCE UNQUOTE

Very UAR allegation claimed a mis-translation. I said Nasser said that the B. Res'n was not in any way provide a solution.

/(words omitted)

(WORDS OMITTED) STANDING OVATION LASTING FOR SOME TIME. THE RATHER MORE CAREFUL LANGUAGE WHICH FOLLOWED WILL HAVE ATTRACTED LESS ATTN. SPEECH DOES NOT RPT NOT MENTION UN REPRESENTATIVE AT ALL AND SEEMS TO SEE NEXT STEP AS RECALLING OF KHARTOUM SUMMIT, TO HIS LOYALTY TO WHOSE RESLNS HE REPEATEDLY REFERS. AND WHICH HE CLEARLY HAS MUCH IN MIND. RUSSIAN SUPPORT IS REFERRED TO WARMLY: THAT OF FRANCE AND INDIA ALSO: REFS TO BRIT RES LN AND TO RESUMPTION OF RELATIONS ARE SLIGHTLY DISTANT AND AT ONE POINT HE LAUNCHED BRIEFLY BACK INTO A CALL FOR ERADICATION OF BASES AND NEO COLONIALISM IN ARABIA.

3. HE WAS CLEARLY VERY CONSCIOUS THROUGHOUT OF PRESENTATION AND PUBLIC OPINION. BOTH IN EGYPT AND IN ARAB WORLD. ALTERNATING BETWEEN POST HOC EXPLANATIONS OF HOW WISE OR CLEVER HE HAD BEEN. AND DISARMING APOLOGIES FOR HIS OWN HUMAN LIMITATIONS. HE REPEATEDLY REFERRED TO LETS HE HAD RECEIVED ON ALL SUBJECTS, INCLUDING SOME ACCUSING HIM OF COWARDICE: AND IS OBVIOUSLY VERY SENSITIVE TO DEMANDS FOR AGGRESSISVE ACTION AND COMPLAINTS OF SHORTCOMINGS ON THE HOME FRONT. HE WENT TO GREAT PAINS TO EXPLAIN WHAT WAS BEING DONE TO REMEDY GRIEVANCES (THIS WAS CULMINATION

1X

laa

OF AN EXTENSIVE PRESS CAMPAIGN IN THE RECENT PAST).

4. BUT UNDERNEATH IT ALL THERE WAS A DISTURBING AIR OF ALMOST JAUNTY CONFIDENCE. WHICH HE MAY HAVE THOUGHT NECESSARY FOR PUBLIC CONSUMPTION BUT WHICH SOUNDED UNCOMFORTABLY AS THOUGH IN GLOSSING OVER ALL THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE SITUATION HE HAD PERSUADED HIMSELF THAT HE AND EGYPT REALLY HAD RECOVERED FROM EVENTS OF JUNE.

F O PASS RABAT 7. SOSFA

1076

INWARD TELEGRAM

En Clair
Code Code R
Cypher
(Paraphrase Heading)
Cypher/OTP
En Clair by Conf. Bag

Cypher ICAT A

[Distribution Heading]

FROM FO TO RABAT

[Signature]

[No. and prefix] No. U/N D 12.30 p M 27/11 27?

[Date] 24 Nov R 4.12 M 26/11.

Repeated to ~~Inspr UKMIS New York~~ A.L. Section 27.XI

H. of Chan. 27/11

[Priority] PRIORITY

H.E. 27/XI

CONFIDENTIAL.

ADDRESSED TO UKMIS NEW YORK TELEGRAM NUMBER 5724

OF 24 NOVEMBER AND TO CERTAIN OTHER POSTS AND

SAVING TO UKDEL NATO.

1076 ← UKMIS NEW YORK TELEGRAM 3372 AND 3386:

Ind Global

MIDDLE EAST.

SECURITY COUNCIL.

THIS IS A MAGNIFICANT OUTCOME WHICH INDEED

DISTRIBUTION SURPASSES ALL OUR HOPES WHEN THE OPERATION BEGAN.

I CONGRATULATE ALL OF YOU WHO HAVE WORKED SO

HARD AND SUCCESSFULLY FOR IT. IN NEW YORK AND

IN CAPITALS.

2. YOU MAY, IF YOU THINK IT APPROPRIATE, EXPRESS

Done MY APPRECIATION FOR THE ATTITUDE TAKEN BY THE

GOVERNMENT TO WHICH YOU ARE ACCREDITED.

SOSFA.

ADVANCE COPIES TO:—

389.Wt.37518/D161.1000.11/63.C.P.L.Gp.626.

Rabat
1076

CONFIDENTIAL

CYPHER/CAT A AND BY BAG AND BY AIRMAIL

PRIORITY FOREIGN OFFICE AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE TO CERTAIN MISSIONS AND DEPENDENT TERRITORIES

GUIDANCE NO. 301 24 NOVEMBER, 1967 (IP)

CONFIDENTIAL
GUIDANCE NO 251 ARAB-ISRAEL.

THE PRESENT PHASE OF THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS WAS BROUGHT TO A SUCCESSFUL AND ENCOURAGEING CONCLUSION ON 22 NOVEMBER WITH THE UNANIMOUS ADOPTION BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED KINGDOM DRAFT RESOLUTION TABLED BY LORD CARADON A WEEK AGO. IT IS A BALANCED RESOLUTION CALLING FOR ISRAEL WITHDRAWAL FROM OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND RECOGNITION OF THE INTEGRITY OF ALL STATES IN THE AREA. IT ALSO CALLS FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO GO TO THE AREA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO MAKE CONTACT WITH THE STATES CONCERNED AND TO PROMOTE AGREEMENT AND ASSIST EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A PEACEFUL AND ACCEPTED SETTLEMENT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS AND PRINCIPLES IN THE RESOLUTION INCLUDING GUARANTEED FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION THROUGH INTERNATIONAL WATERWAYS AND A JUST SETTLEMENT OF THE REFUGEE PROBLEM. THUS IT IMPLEMENTS ALL THE MAIN PRINCIPLES SET OUT IN THE FOREIGN SECRETARY'S SPEECH IN U N GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON 21 JUNE (VERBATIM 291).

2. THE ISSUE IN NEW YORK WAS UNCERTAIN UNTIL THE LAST MOMENT. THE LAST MINUTE MOVE OF THE SOVIET UNION IN TABLING A DRAFT THEMSELVES LEFT THEIR VOTE IN PARTICULAR DOUBT. THE INDIAN DELEGATE AT THE END CREATED A PROBLEM BY INSISTING IN SPELLING OUT HIS INTERPRETATION THAT THE RESOLUTION MEANT WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAEL FROM ALL THE TERRITORIES OCCUPIED. FORTUNATELY OTHERS WERE DISSUADED FROM FOLLOWING SUIT BUT THE RANGE OF OPINIONS EXPRESSED BY MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL SHOW VERY CLEARLY THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH LIE AHEAD. ISRAEL JORDAN AND THE U A R HAVE TACITLY INDICATED THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF THE RESOLUTION BY REFRAINING FROM CRITICISM IN THE COUNCIL. SYRIA THE OTHER ARAB STATE DIRECTLY CONCERNED CRITICIZED THE RESOLUTION AT LENGTH.

/ 3.IT IS

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY
- 5 DEC 1967

CONFIDENTIAL

Advance copy seen by HE HMC SS CO

A/DRCN
PS. substitute for advance copy.
5/12

3. IT IS NEVERTHELESS A CONSIDERABLE ACHIEVEMENT IN WHICH MANY COUNTRIES PLAYED A PART THAT THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION ON THE GROUND CAN NOW BEGIN WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE MAJOR POWERS AND ACQUIESANCE OF THE PARTIES PRINCIPALLY CONCERNED: IT AUGURS WELL FOR THE FUTURE THAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT WERE IN THE END PREPARED TO GO SO FAR AS TO VOTE FOR OUR RESOLUTION. NEVERTHELESS THE ADOPTION OF THE RESOLUTION IS ONLY A FIRST STEP AND THE WAY AHEAD WILL BE HARD AND DIFFICULT. IN THIS SITUATION WE ATTACHE THE GREATEST IMPORTANCE TO THE TASK OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S REPRESENTATIVE AND THINK IT PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT THAT HIS EFFORTS SHOULD NOT BE PREJUDICED BY OUTSIDE PRESSURE OR INTERFERENCE: WE ARE THEREFORE ANXIOUS TO AVOID ANY SUGGESTION THAT WE ARE SEEKING TO URGE ON HIM OUR VIEW OF THE RIGHT APPROACH TOWARDS A SETTLEMENT.

4. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE SECRETARY GENERAL IS LIKELY TO APPOINT THE SWEDISH AMBASSADOR IN MOSCOW MR GUNNER JARRING AS HIS REPRESENTATIVE AND THAT JORDAN AND THE UAR HAVE AGREED. WE HAVE EVERY CONFIDENCE IN MR JARRING WHO WAS VERY HIGHLY REGARDED AT THE UNITED NATIONS AS THE SWEDISH REPRESENTATIVE AND FOR HIS WORK ON BEHALF OF THE U N IN CONNECTION WITH THE KASHMIR DISPUTE.

SOSFA/CROSEC

BY TELEGRAPH:

COPENHAGEN	STOCKHOLM	BEIRUT	BENGHAZI	NEW DELHI
THE HAGUE	MOSCOW	JEDDA	DAKAR	RAWALPINDI
OSLO	BUENOS AIRES	KUWAIT	TOKYO	
PARIS	RIO DE JANEIRO	TEHRAN	OTTAWA	
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EN CLAIR

IMMEDIATE CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

TELEGRAM NO.1216 24 NOVEMBER 1967

UNCLASSIFIED

ADDSD TO FOREIGN OFFICE TEL NO 1216 OF 24 NOV RFI IMMEDIATE UKMIS NEW YORK 151 ROUTINE WASHINGTON 142 PARIS 38 MOSCOW 38 AND SAVING TO AMMAN 15 ALGIERS 17 BAHRAIN RESIDENCY 9 BEIRUT 25 JEDDA 21 BENGHAZI 13 KHARTOUM 12 KUWAIT 13 RABAT 13 TRIPOLI 14 TUNIS 13 TELAVIV 18 LIC ADEN 6 HCADEN 8 JIC NICOSIA 5.

FOLLOWING IS ALMOST VERBATIM TEXT FROM EGYPTIAN GAZETTE OF SECTIONS OF PRESIDENT NASSER'S SPEECH OF 23 NOVEMBER DEALING WITH ISRAEL AND SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION. 'WE ARE MORE ACTIVE IN ONE FIELD THAN OTHERS THESE DAYS , NAMELY THE POLITICAL FIELD. ..... THERE IS A FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE I BELIEVE IN , IN WHICH MY FAITH HAS NOT CHANGED , THAT WHAT HAS BEEN USURPED BY FORCE CANNOT BE RESTORED EXCEPT BY FORCE' (STANDING OVATION). ' FORCE IS OF VARYING DEGREES STARTING WITH THE FORCE OF POLITICAL ACTION AND ESCALATING TO THE FORCE OF MILITARY ACTION.....NEITHER OF THEM IS AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE OTHER AND THE LINE DIVIDING THEM IS NOT CLEAR. WE CAN TRY POLITICAL ACTION WHILE AT THE SAME TIME PREPARING FOR MILITARY ACTION IF THE LATTER BECOMES NECESSARY..... WE DO NOT HESITATE TO TRY POLITICAL ACTION NOR DO WE OBJECT TO SUCH AN EXPERIMENT BUT RATHER WELCOME IT. WAR IS NOT AN AIM IN ITSELF..... IF DURING THE PERIOD WHEN OUR MILITARY PREPAREDNESS IS BEING PERFECTED POLITICAL ACTION IS ABLE TO SAFEGUARD OUR PRINCIPLES , LIBERATE OUR TERRITORIES AND RESTORE OUR LOST RIGHTS THEN WE DO NOT OBJECT TO POLITICAL ACTION. WE WOULD NOT BE MEETING OUR INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES IF WE DID ; FOR WE WOULD FIND NOBODY SIDING WITH US..... IF POLITICAL ACTION SHOULD FAIL TO SATISFY OUR GOALS THEN WE WILL HAVE LOST NOTHING ..... I WILL NOT TAKE ANY STEP UNLESS I AM SURE OF THE NEXT STEP. WE HAVE TO LEARN FROM EXPERIENCE . WE ARE NOT READY TO TAKE LESSONS FROM THOSE WHO TALK ABOUT IMMEDIATE WAR THOUGH THEY DID NOT FIGHT AND DO NOT INTEND TO FIGHT'.

/2. LATER

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY 1 DEC 1967

AZS 4.XII

2. LATER PASSAGE.
'BRITAIN CAME UP WITH YET ANOTHER RESOLUTION WHICH TRIED TO RECONCILE BASIC POINTS IN AFRO-ASIAN DRAFT AND OTHER DRAFTS . IN OUR VIEW BRITISH DRAFT IS NOT ADEQUATE TO FIND A SOND SOLUTION. SOVIET DRAFT WAS REASONABLE AND BALANCED .....IT SERVED AT LEAST AS MEANS OF PRESSURE FOR INTERPRETATION OF BRITISH DRAFT ADOPTED ..... THOUGH INDIA , SOVIET UNION AND FRANCE GAVE EXPLANATIONS OF BRITISH DRAFT ON BASIS OF WHICH IT WAS PUT TO THE VOTE IT IS IN OUR VIEW INADEQUATE. I REITERATE THAT WE CANNOT OBTAIN ANY GUARANTEE EXCEPT THROUGH OUR PREPAREDNESS TO BEAR ARMS. CRATORY IS OF NO AVAIL AND ALL FORMULAS ARE LIABLE TO MELT IN THE FLAMES OF BATTLE ..... WE SHALL STUDY THE RESOLUTION AND DISCUSS WITH OUR FRINDS. THERE ARE TWO POINTS HOWEVER ON WHICH WE SHALL ALLOW NO BARGAINING. THE FIRST IS COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL FROM EVERY INCH OF ARAB TERRITORY CAPTURED IN JUNE WHETHER UAR, JORDAN OR SYRIA. TO US THIS POINT IS SUBJECT TO NO BARGAINING. THE SECOND IS THAT WE SHALL NEVER ALLOW ISRAEL TO PASS THROUGH THE SUEZ CANAL WHATEVER THE PRICE AND WHATEVER THE COST. PASSAGE THROUGH THE CANAL IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE ORIGINAL PALESTINE QUESTION. IT IS NOT PART OF THE QUESTION OF LIQUIDATING THE AFTERMATH OF AGGRESSION.
IN ADDITION TO THESE TWO POINTS WE ARE COMMITTED TO THE FOUR LINES DEFINED BY KHARTOUM CONFERENCE. .....WE BELIEVE ACCORDINGLY THAT DEVELOPMENTS REQUIRE THOUGHT ABOUT HOLDING ARAB SUMMIT : WEHAVE TO STUDY THE CONSEQUENCES OF SECURITY

COUNCIL DECISION AND PREPARE FOR THEM.'
3. THIRD PASSAGE .
' HOW SHOUL WE DEAL WITH THE RESOLUTION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL ? WE BELIVE THIS QUESTION SHOULD BE PUT TO A GENERAL DEBATE THOUGH IT IS NOT IMPORTANT IN ITSELF. ANY RESOLUTION DOES NOT MEAN ANYTHING IN ITSELF EVEN IF IT WERE THE AFRO-ASIAN OR THE SOVIET RESOLUTION. THERE IS A GREAT DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A RESOLUTION AND A SOLUTION. THE VAGUE WORDING OF UN RESOLUTIONS IS A NORMAL THING, THE IMPORTANT THING IS WHAT HAPPENS IN REALITY.

/WILL

WILL ISRAEL REALLY WITHDRAW FROM ALL THE LANDS IT OCCUPIED DURING JUNE OR NOT?... WE BELIEVE THAT TIME IS ON OUR SIDE... WE DEMAND IT BECAUSE IT IS ESSENTIAL FOR THE ONLY GUARANTEE THAT GIVES ANY POLITICAL ACTION REAL FORCE - I MEAN THE DEGREE OF OUR READINESS FOR A MILITARY OFFENSIVE... DESPITE ALL DISCUSSIONS AT THE SECURITY COUNCIL... WE AGREED IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS THAT WE SHOULD CONTINUE THE TRANS-FORMATION OF OUR WHOLE ECONOMY INTO A WAR ECONOMY... OF THE MANY UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS IN 1947 - 1949 NONE HAS BEEN IMPLEMENTED. ANY RESOLUTION IS OF VALUE ONLY TO THE EXTENT OF THE POWER WHICH CAN BE USED IN ITS IMPLEMENT-ATION AND WE BELIEVE WE HAVE ATTAINED AN EXTENT OF POWER WHICH CAN BE AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE ACTUAL USE OF THIS POWER.

F.O. PLEASE PASS SAVING TO:- AMMAN 15, ALGIERS 17, BAHRAIN (RESIDENCY) 9, BEIRUT 25, JEDDA 21, BENGHAZI 13, KHARTOUM 12, KUWAIT 13, RABAT 13, TRIPOLI 14, TUNIS 13, TEL AVIV 18, LIC ADEN 6, HC ADEN 8 AND JIC NICOSIA 5.

MR. TESH

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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Nasser's so-called moderation does not seem to have lasted long, and his references to the UK are not exactly gracious. He always wants to make it look as though he is not the petitioner. H. of L. 27/11

1076.

A.L. Sanction 27.XI

All the same he does not refrain from drawing the Dunkirk comparison!

C.O. 27/11/67

AZS 28.XI

Addressed to F.O. Tel No 1218 and 24 Nou RPT to UKDIS N.Y. W'ton, PARIS Moscow, Beirut, Bahrain Residency, Amman, Algiers, Benghazi,

JEDDA —, NIAMEY —, KUWAIT —, RABAT —, TRIPOLI —, TUNIS —, TELAVIV —, LAS ADEN —, HE ADEN —, PERSONAL AND HIS MESSAGE.

MY TELNO 1075: PRESIDENT NASSER'S SPEECH OF 23 NOVEMBER.

SUMMARY.

1. WE BEGAN BY CONGRATULATING THE PEOPLE ON THEIR RECOVERY FROM THE DEFEAT. DRAWING AGAIN THE DUNKIRK COMPARISON HE ADMITTED THAT CAIRO HAD BEEN DEFENCELESS. NOW EGYPT WAS ALREADY STRONGER THAN BEFORE THE DEFEAT.

2. HE DEALT WITH THE PLOT AND DEVIATIONS AND THE CHANGES FOR THE BETTER MADE, AND GOT LOUD APPLAUSE FOR HIS DEFINITIVE TREATMENT OF PUBLICATION OF DISSENSIONS IN THE GULF, AND FOR THE STATEMENT THAT THE 'STATE WITHIN A STATE' WAS NOW GONE. HE ALSO POLICY HAD BEEN LAID DOWN AT KHARTOUM, THERE WAS AGREEMENT ON YEMEN, THE BRITISH WERE LEAVING ADEN, BEAT UP SPIES WERE ARRESTED FOR A LONG TIME TO COME, THE ECONOMY WAS IN GOOD SHAPE AND ON A WAR FOOTING.

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5. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

THE LIFE OF EGYPT'S FRIENDS HAS EXTENDING DAILY. USSR, FRANCE AND INDIA HAVE ALIGNED HIGH. BRESHNEV HAD TOLD ALL ARMY THAT USSR WOULD GIVE MILITARY, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL AID. PRESIDENT NASSER HAD HAD TO MANOEUVRE AT UNO IN TO PREVENT ISRAEL GAINING SEAT AT VIENNA. HIS SUCCESS WAS REFLECTED IN INTERNATIONAL AID. HE HAD HAD TO RESPOND TO PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVES AND HAD BEEN REALISTIC ABOUT TALKING TO USA AND RECOGNISING US CITIZENS.

6. IT WAS AT THIS POINT THAT HE ANNOUNCED THAT WHAT HAD BEEN TAKEN BY FORCE CANNOT BE RESTORED EXCEPT BY FORCE, AND THAT HE WOULD ACCEPT UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION AND EGYPT'S POSITION AS STATED IN EXTENSION BY MR. RIAD. — not rec'd.

7. THERE MUST BE A NEW ARAB SOLIDARITY, WHICH SHOULD LEAD TO A NEW ARAB SYSTEM TO GIVE THE ARAB WORLD A GREAT PLACE IN THE AGE OF LARGE ECONOMIC GROUPINGS.

8. ISRAEL WAS NOT THE MIGHTY FORCE THEY HAD PROVED: IT WAS ARAB FAILINGS THAT HAD GIVEN HER THE VICTORY. THE BEATING OF THE ARAB ARMIES IN 1967, THE FACT THAT ISRAELIS HAD SUFFERED MUCH LESS THAN THEY THOUGHT THANKS TO EGYPTIAN SUNKEN - BATTERY TACTIC. EVACUATION OF SINAI OILFIELDS HAD BEEN TACTICAL AND NOT E. ISRAEL WAS SUFFERING FROM THE PATAH AND WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO CONTROL THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

EILAT SHOWED THIS. THE ARABS MUST CHOOSE THEIR TIME AND PLACE.
HE HAD PERSONALLY ORDERED AGAINST ESCALATION OF FIGHTING ~~AT 6~~

7. SOUTH ARABIA.

THE STRUGGLE MUST CONTINUE UNTIL ALL BASES AND NEO-COLONIALISM WERE ELIMINATED.

8. HE THEN ATTACKED FOREIGN SAVOUR - MONGERS AND DENIED ANY INTENTION OF RESIGNING UNTIL THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE AGGRESSION HAD DISAPPEARED. HE GAVE A SURVEY ACCOUNT OF THE ECONOMY, INCLUDING GOOD NEWS OF THE HARVEST AND OPTIMISTIC FORECASTS OF SUCCESS OF INDUSTRY, OIL, TOURISM AND HIGH DAM. HE PROMISED REMEDIES FOR BUREAUCRATIC SHORTCOMINGS, ESPECIALLY FOR FARMERS' PROBLEMS (APPLAUSE).

= TESHV

PRODROME RABAT

SENT 2300042 JW

Reference Cairo 1076

Middle East Situation

Last night I attended a dinner party given in honour of Dr Fawzi Qaradi. The Egyptian, Libyan and Jordanian ambassadors were also present. As soon as Dr Qaradi arrived they closed in on him to discuss the post-Revolution speech by Nasser. I do not know what he said to them but to me, later, he said he had found it encouraging. Nasser's two objections to the Revolution would cause difficulties but there were only two: he had swallowed a lot, even aqaba. There would now have to be another Arab Summit "to give Nasser cover". He was confident that the moderates could

could dominate it at least as well as at Khartoum (when they had no Security Council/Big 4 backing).

The party line as played back by the Egyptian Ambassador was that it was encouraging to see Britain playing her traditional role again but unfortunately our talent for compromise had no scope in this situation: the differences between Israel and Egypt were irreconcilable.

Any lean on Nasser is that we knew we couldn't give complete satisfaction to anyone; that no harm has been done by Nasser bringing this out; that the Resolution is only a first step but that it was an important and vital one. Most Arab Ambassadors to whom I spoke,

spoke, at the dinner and at the Canadian reception were prepared to go along with this. Several expressed pleasure at the renewed prestige of the United Nations though others recalled that U.N. Resolutions in Arabian years had led nowhere.

Mr. Rabafrej thought we were being too modest. Ours was a notable success. He had shown the King the text of Lord Caradon's speech (which I passed to Mr. Rabafrej). H.M. had been most complimentary.

HMG
A.D.S.M 24/11
LO 24/11/67

24th XI

I had a brief discussion with the Egyptian, Libyan, and Kuwaiti Ambassadors and with the Minister of Information

at the Commonwealth Party. We discussed the resolution there and the U.A.R. Ambassador said that it didn't go far enough. However all agreed that it was welcome. But much now depended on how it was carried out. The U.A.R Ambassador asked M. Senoussi as to whether he had heard President Nassers speach, and with agreed (M Senoussi had heard some of the speech) that the speech was a strong one. The Egyptian then briefed the other Ambassadors on what Nasser had said. He emphasised to me that none of the Arab countries believed that a political solution could be reached, force was needed. I agreed that no nation could negotiate from a position of weakness and strength was needed even to achieve a political solution. The Kuwaiti agreed.

J Walker 24/11

Others were dubious yesterday about the point of the resolution and U.N.'s ability to apply it, but agreed with Lord Caradon's statement that it was a diplomatic success for Britain and for the Secretary-General who "at last" managed to take a step with unanimity.

A. Harrod 24/11 Ack 25/11

H. E.

N° 264/67

Samedi 25 novembre 1967

Presse marocaine de langue arabe

Traductions

Al-An'bâ : Commentaire du jour. (La conférence au sommet dont le Roi Hassan II a demandé la convocation doit unifier la position des Etats arabes à la suite de l'adoption de la résolution britannique par le Conseil de sécurité).

Al-An'bâ : "Le véritable problème : Israël" (Israël se refusera sans doute à appliquer la résolution des Nations Unies. Quant aux Arabes, ils ne capitulerontpas).

Al-Alam : Ouverture du VIIIème congrès du Parti de l'Istiqlal (principaux titres et slogans).

Al-Alam : Extraits du discours de M. Allal el-Fassi devant le congrès de l'Istiqlal (passages relatifs au rôle de l'Eglise et à la politique française lors de la crise du Moyen-Orient).

Al-Asâs : Editorial (Le Maroc et le Marché Commun).

Presse arabe

"Al-Anbâ' " (officieux) - 25 novembre 1967

Commentaire du jour

S. M. notre souverain vénéré a adressé hier soir un télégramme à Leurs Majestés et Excellences, les Rois et Chefs d'Etat arabes, les invitant à tenir au Maroc une conférence au sommet urgente afin d'étudier en toute honnêteté et intégrité la position franche et nette qu'il convient de prendre après l'adoption par le Conseil de Sécurité de la résolution britannique, de coordonner leurs efforts en vue d'une action commune contre la présence sioniste à l'intérieur des territoires arabes et de se mettre d'accord sur les bases solides et les éléments nouveaux qu'il convient d'introduire dans notre Ligue arabe, bases et éléments qui prolongeront sa vie et l'aideront à assumer pleinement sa mission.

Cette généreuse invitation prouve, si besoin en était, et d'une manière éclatante, tout l'intérêt que notre guide, Hassan II, (...) porte à une cause sacrée, chère à chaque Arabe. Elle montre clairement toute la foi que notre souverain a dans le droit des Arabes à la récupération de leurs terres usurpées et dans celui des réfugiés au retour dans leurs foyers, d'où ils ont été chassés, et à une vie digne.

Il y a une noble intention qu'il ne faut pas négliger dans le fait de convoquer d'urgence cette conférence pour le début du mois de Ramadan, le mois de la grâce et des bénédictions, le mois de l'Islam, celui où Dieu a révélé le Coran à son noble prophète arabe, le mois de la lumière qui illumine le coeur et les âmes des Arabes et des Musulmans et qui unifie leurs actions en faveur du triomphe du droit et de la justice.

En répondant à cette invitation sincère, Leurs Majestés et Leurs Excellences contribueront à promouvoir un nouvel élan vers le regroupement des forces, l'apaisement des souffrances et des deuils, l'oubli des querelles et des divergences qui opposent les frères.

Le moment est venu d'agir, frères arabes ! Le temps ne pardonne point. L'histoire enregistre. Les masses populaires attendent. Ce sera la vie, le bonheur, la victoire, le triomphe ou alors l'enlisement dans les difficultés, les hésitations, le gaspillage des occasions.

Presse arabe

"Al-Alam" (Istiqlal) -- 25 novembre 1967

(Manchette sur la largeur de la 1ère page)

Sous le signe de "la démocratie authentique", le président Allal el-Fassi annonce, devant des milliers d'Istiqlaliens et d'Istiqlaliennes, l'ouverture du VIIIème congrès du Parti de l'Istiqlal

Le huitième congrès du Parti s'est ouvert hier. Les délégations sœurs et amies évoquent les problèmes de l'heure dans les pays arabes et dans le monde. Haj Omar ben Abdeljalil, élu président des travaux du Congrès. Dix mille personnes ont assisté à la séance d'ouverture.

Le directeur général du Cabinet royal, des membres du gouvernement, les représentants des organisations syndicales, politiques et nationales assistent à la séance d'ouverture.

Des citoyens de la province occupée de Mauritanie suivent les travaux du Congrès.

x x x

La bataille pour la démocratie est longue et difficile, mais il faut la mener jusqu'au bout avec persévérance

Nous demeurerons attachés à notre devise et à notre doctrine. C'est ce qui nous fait obligation de sortir notre pays des conditions médiévales et d'élever son niveau à la hauteur de celui des Etats modernes et évolués, dans toutes ses structures nationales.

x x x

C'est l'abandon de la cause de leurs frères et l'injustice manifestée à leur égard qui ont entraîné les Arabes vers ces revers successifs, ces drames sans fin, qui ont brisé l'unité du Maghreb arabe et l'unité souhaitée par les Arabes et les Musulmans.

x x x

.../

Les libertés sont solidaires les unes des autres. Ou elles existent toutes ou elles n'existent pas

Le contrôle populaire sur les actes des responsables du pouvoir est un droit pour tous les citoyens et citoyennes

Le parti de l'Istiqlal invite les quatre Etats du Maghreb arabe à proclamer une nationalité commune pour tous les enfants du Maghreb arabe; à élaborer un plan commun dans les domaines de l'économie, de l'enseignement, de l'arabisation de l'enseignement et de l'administration ; à unifier leurs positions vis-à-vis des affaires arabes et des questions de la décolonisation, afin d'aboutir à l'unité des peuples maghrébins et de s'engager ensuite progressivement dans l'unification des structures politiques.

x x x

A notre sens, l'unité arabe est un idéal vers lequel doivent tendre les peuples et les Etats arabes. Mais nous ne croyons pas que les royaumes et les unions ne puissent se forger que par la force. Nous pensons que les Arabes sont en mesure d'édifier leur Etat unifié s'ils suivent, une voie raisonnable. Notre parti estime qu'il est possible de parvenir à une unité générale par le truchement des unités régionales.

x x x

Ce ne sont ni les armes ni la volonté des peuples de mener la lutte qui font défaut aux Arabes. Ce qui leur manque le plus, c'est la direction et l'entente avec les dirigeants

x x x

- Bien qu'il ait été minoritaire au parlement, le Parti n'en a pas moins assumé son devoir dans la défense du peuple.

- La non-réalisation de la réforme agraire, permet à la féodalité de subsister.

- Le drame de la Palestine est l'un des aspects des complots du sionisme et de la croisade qui a divisé la patrie syrienne selon les confessions.

.../

- L'évolution des étudiants et les besoins en cadres impliquent la création d'une nouvelle université.

- Au nom de la légalité, nous réclamons la fin de l'état d'exception et le retour à la vie parlementaire.

- C'est le colonialisme intellectuel qui est à l'origine du drame des pays arabes.

- Le contrôle des naissances est contraire à la religion, à la nature, à l'économie et au développement.

Presse arabe

"Al-Alam" (Istiqlal) -- 25 novembre 1967

(Extraits du discours doctrinal prononcé par le président Allal el-Fassi à l'ouverture du 8ème congrès du parti de l'Istiqlal à Casablanca)

(...) Il n'y pas pas longtemps S.S. le pape décidait de faire un pélerinage sur les lieux de l'apparition de la Vierge à Fatima, au Portugal, pour y prier pour la paix. Il exprimait dans son discours, devant des centaines de milliers de visiteurs, ses craintes de voir éclater une troisième guerre mondiale. Chacun pensa alors que l'on était à deux doigts de cette guerre. De nombreux hommes d'Eglise prirent la parole à la radio et je les écoutais, de mon lit d'hôpital en France, parler du message secret que la Vierge avait adressé par l'intermédiaire d'une petite bergère, à S.S. le Pape. Ils disaient que ce message contenait la promesse d'un retour de la Russie au sein de l'Eglise. Quelques jours après Israël déclenchait se lâche agression contre l'Egypte puis contre la Jordanie et la Syrie. Ni la Russie ni l'Amérique n'intervinrent directement et le Pape cessa aussitôt de parler de guerre, de paix, et de réintégration de la Russie dans le sein de l'Eglise.

Beaucoup de commentateurs ont essayé d'expliquer ce mystère et de percer le vrai sens de ce pélerinage inopiné. Certains l'ont rapproché de la guerre du Vietnam, d'autres ont prétendu que c'était un signe de soutien au Portugal dans sa lutte pour conserver ses possessions africaines. Quant à moi je n'ai compris de cela qu'une chose que je m'en vais vous exposer ici :

Le Pape a été manœuvré, consciemment ou non, et avec lui tous les bons Chrétiens, comme une organisation sociale au service du sionisme et de ses visées sur les pays arabes. On s'attendait à un affrontement entre les deux supergrands. Le sionisme a donc mis le monde chrétien en éveil et l'a préparé, dans le cas où une guerre aurait éclaté entre les deux blocs, à l'idée d'une mobilisation de tous les croyants et d'un combat contre la Russie, au nom de la mission sacrée de Fatima, pour la réintégrer au sein de l'Eglise. Mais l'Etat soviétique ayant gardé son sang-froid et ayant laissé le plan sioniste et colonialiste s'exécuter sans le combattre, sinon avec les moyens de la diplomatie et de la propagande, l'Eglise s'est tue et s'est contentée de réclamer sa part de butin, c'est-à-dire l'internationalisation de Jérusalem, afin de réaliser ainsi les rêves des Croisés au Moyen-Age.

.../

Il est amer de constater que les choses les plus saintes en ce monde sont utilisées au service du sionisme et du colonialisme, grâce à l'exploitation des dernières idées de croisade qui subsistent encore dans l'âme de certains Chrétiens naïfs, et sans que le Vatican ne s'aperçoive que la conspiration juive qui a commencé jadis par la tentative d'assassinat du Christ, n'est pas seulement dirigée contre les Musulmans, mais contre tous les peuples étrangers à Israël (...)

(voir page suivante)

(...) L'honorable attitude du général de Gaulle

Certes, le générale de Gaulle a eu une attitude honorable, contraire à celle de la majorité du peuple français. Il a annoncé qu'il condamnait quiconque prendrait l'initiative d'agresser un quelconque des Etats du Moyen-Orient et mis en garde Israël contre toute atteinte à l'indépendance du Liban, proclamant qu'il considérait toute agression contre le Liban comme une agression contre la France. Il a ainsi préservé le cher Liban de ce qui est arrivé à la Jordanie, à la Syrie et à l'Egypte. Tout en exprimant notre gratitude envers l'attitude prise par le général de Gaulle à l'égard des Arabes et tout en lui renouvelant les remerciements que la délégation du parti de l'Istiqlal a , au cours du drame exprimés à l'Ambassade de France à Rabat, nous devons néanmoins noter les faits suivants :

Premièrement : Israël avait des visées expansionnistes sur les territoires arabes, notamment sur la Syrie et le Liban, pour mettre fin au problème du détournement des eaux arabes qui se pose à lui.

Deuxièmement : La France avait fourni à Israël tous les "Mirage" dont il avait besoin, avions qui constituent la plus grande partie des forces aériennes israéliennes , et ce en échange du secret de la bombe atomique, qu'Israël a révélé à la France.

De Gaulle a estimé que l'opération avait atteint ses objectifs et qu'il n'y avait plus lieu de continuer a aider Israël au détriment des Etats arabes, sans contrepartie.

Troisièmement : L'opinion publique en France était dans l'ignorance de la politique réelle suivie par de Gaulle et dont le secret réside dans une conception nationaliste selon laquelle rien ne doit être fait qui ne puisse profiter au pays. Le peuple français a été victime de la mystification entretenue par la propagande sioniste et les partisans des croisades et a réagi sous l'effet du désespoir qui habire encore nombre de partis par suite de la perte de l'Algérie et de l'Afrique du Nord en général et aussi de la défaite essuyé par l'armée française sur le canal de Suez. Peut-être est-ce également par remords d'avoir soutenu le nazisme au cours de la guerre que le peuple français a voulu se racheter en soutenant Israël (...).

Presse arabe

"Al-Asâs" (Indépendant) -- 23 novembre 1967

(Editorial)

Depuis longtemps déjà la question de l'adhésion du Maroc au Marché commun européen se trouve posée, premièrement sur le plan des idées, deuxièmement sur celui des études et troisièmement sur celui des consultations ou, comme on pourrait dire, sur celui des approches et des sondages.

On nous annonce aujourd'hui que cette question d'adhésion du Maroc à cette organisation économique est entrée dans une phase pratique : celle des négociations directes.

On peut dire qu'aucune campagne d'éclaircissement ou de préparation n'a été menée sur le plan populaire, de sorte qu'on peut affirmer que le peuple marocain, base de la nation, ne sait rien de ce Marché, à l'exception d'un petit groupe d'intellectuels et de politiciens qui ont réussi à en savoir quelque chose. De même on peut certifier que le peuple ne sait strictement rien des buts et des avantages d'une éventuelle adhésion du Maroc au Marché commun européen. On aurait dû d'abord -- comme nous l'avons dit -- procéder à une campagne de préparation et d'information afin d'éclairer l'opinion publique sur les perspectives et les développements d'une pareille adhésion que l'on peut presque assimiler à une aventure... à une aventure semée d'embûches et à l'issue incertaine, à une aventure qui peut tout aussi bien être une source de profit, de richesse et d'équilibre qu'une cause de difficultés politiques et économiques et de bien d'autres choses.

Bien que l'optimisme apparaisse à travers l'intérêt manifesté par l'Etat dans ses efforts pour réaliser cette adhésion ... et à travers l'importance qu'il attache à cette adhésion, cet intérêt et cette importance laissent supposer cependant que cet optimisme risque d'une part de se heurter à des difficultés et d'autre part de s'exposer à des désillusions.

Il nous importe de comprendre le côté utile de la chose afin de pouvoir étudier à fond la question et d'exprimer notre point de vue à son sujet, fût-ce par l'intermédiaire de voix particulières, étant donné que l'instrument public d'expression, à savoir le parlement, se trouve en panne pour une période indéterminée. Mais ce à quoi on ne saurait échapper, en présence de cette incertitude et de ce secret, c'est une étude -- fût-elle non analytique -- de l'avenir économique et politique qui attendra le Maroc le jour où il adhérera à cette communauté économique à la porte de laquelle la Grande-Bretagne s'est meurtri la main à force d'y frapper et qui est restée insensible aux tentatives de séduction de Wilson et de ses amis... et même de ses adversaires et de ses opposants.

.../

Dès le premier examen de cet avenir, de nombreuses et diverses questions se posent, questions auxquelles il faut trouver des réponses logiques et claires. Commençons par le début.

Nous connaissons, tous, les efforts quisont déployés depuis des années pour réaliser un plan économique unifié, à l'échelon du Maghreb arabe. Ce plan a fait l'objet de nombreuses tentatives et a été abondamment exalté. Nous ne pouvons pas préciser toutes les dépenses qu'ont entraînées les rencontres, les contacts, les voyages et les conférences auxquels il a donné lieu. Nous pouvons, encore moins, énumérer tous les discours, les allocutions, les rapports qu'ont pu faire les experts et les techniciens.

Notre adhésion au Marché commun européen, si elle intervient, réduira-t-elle à néant toutes ces tentatives, les liquidera-t-elle à jamais... ou bien n'aura-t-elle aucune influence sur elles ? Dans le premiers cas, que deviendront nos relations économiques, puis politiques, avec les Etats du Maghreb arabe, à l'exception de la Tunisie qui se trouve dans le même cas que nous ? Dans le second, elles se trouveront dans une situation très difficile. Autres questions :

- Le Marché commun nous protègera-t-il de la concurrence sur les marchés où nous avons une grande part,à l'~~action~~ INTÉRIEUR de la Communauté elle-même ?

- Quelle sera l'influence de l'adhésion sur la monnaie marocaine ?

- Quelle sera son influence sur le développement de notre tourisme ?

- Quelle sera son influence sur nos relations extérieures internationales en notre qualité d'Etat non engagé ?

- En cas de constitution d'un Marché commun arabe, quelle sera notre position ?

Autant de questions qui exigent explications et analyses afin que nous sachions si notre adhésion à la C.E.E. sera rentable pour nous, ou, au contraire, ira à l'encontre de nos espoirs.

C'est là ce que le peuple veut savoir.

1076

Presse arabe

"Al-Anbâ' " (officieux) - 25 novembre 1967

Le véritable problème , c'est Israël

Le Conseil de Sécurité a finalement adopté, à l'unanimité, le projet de résolution britannique concernant le règlement de la crise du Moyen-Orient.

Avec l'adoption de la résolution britannique le rideau tombe sur un acte du drame politique de la crise du Moyen-Orient dont l'hémicycle de l'Assemblée générale et du Conseil de Sécurité a été le théâtre, après être tombé une première fois lors de la décision ordonnant la suspension de l'acte sanglant qui s'était déroulé dans le désert du Sinaï, sur les plateaux syriens et sur la rive occidentale du Jourdain.

La crise aborde donc une nouvelle phase : celle de la mise en application de la résolution britannique adoptée par le Conseil de Sécurité.

Ce sera une phase dure et pénible mais sera-ce le dernier acte du drame ?

Nul ne peut, évidemment, imaginer ou prévoir les coups de théâtre et les rebondissements qui risquent de se produire à l'avenir dans cette zone du Moyen-Orient qui bout littéralement d'émotion, de tension et d'explosions latentes....

Le Dr Gunnar (Jarring) cet ambassadeur suédois de soixante-cinq ans, représentant particulier des Nations Unies, va se rendre incessamment dans la zone , porteur de la décision du Conseil de Sécurité, pour entreprendre la mission politique la plus difficile qui ait jamais été confiée à un délégué des Nations Unies.

L'envoyé de l'O. N. U. parviendra-t-il à exécuter effectivement et avec la célérité voulue, la mission dont il a été investi ?

Trouvera-t-il la collaboration, les facilités, la confiance et la bonne foi nécessaires à l'accomplissement de sa tâche ?

La réponse, c'est encore une fois d'Israël qu'elle viendra.

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REGISTRY
28 NOV 1967

.../

Les dirigeants israéliens n'ont pas attendu qu'on leur envoie un émissaire de l'O. N. U. pour lui exposer leur position. Ils lui ont même épargné la peine d'amorcer un dialogue avec eux puisqu'ils ont déclaré, avec leur intransigeance habituelle et le cynisme le plus révoltant qu'ils ne retireraient pas leurs forces des territoires arabes qu'ils ont occupés à la faveur de la guerre de juin dernier. Ils ont même annoncé que la résolution britannique adoptée par le Conseil de Sécurité ne correspondait ni à leur politique ni à leurs intérêts.

Une telle attitude, de la part d'Israël, n'est d'ailleurs pas nouvelle. Elle n'est donc pas faite pour nous surprendre.

Que de résolutions émanant, soit des Nations Unies, soit du Conseil de Sécurité, n'ont pas été prises en considération par Israël ! Loin de leur attacher quelque importance, Israël n'a pas hésité à les considérer ouvertement comme des décisions insignifiantes et dénuées de toute valeur.

La dernière résolution en date qu'Israël a accueillie avec mépris est celle que l'Assemblée générale de l'O. N. U. a votée, rappelons-le au sujet de la ville sainte de Jérusalem.

Par conséquent, le vrai problème c'est d'abord et avant tout Israël!... Israël qui dicte ses conditions... Israël qui ne songe qu'à assouvir ses ambitions au détriment de la souveraineté des Etats arabes, aux dépens des réfugiés et au mépris du droit international et du prestige et du respect de l'organisation internationale... Israël qui viole tout ce qu'il y a de respectable, qui agresse, qui déclenche des guerres, qui occupe des terres, qui refuse de se soumettre à n'importe quel droit ou à n'importe quelle décision...

C'est là que réside avant tout le problème.

C'est pourquoi l'avenir apparaît sombre et chargé de menaces.

L'acte qui vient de s'achever par l'adoption de la résolution britannique laisse place, tout au plus, à une sorte de répit, de pause qui permettra à ceux qui n'ont cessé depuis des semaines de tenir des réunions, d'en ajourner d'autres et de procéder à des entretiens dans les coulisses dans une atmosphère d'intrigues, de marchandages et de pressions, de reposer enfin leurs nerfs fatigués.

Ce cauchemar qui pèse sur le monde depuis la guerre de juin va-t-il enfin se dissiper ?

Nous ne prétendons pas anticiper sur les événements quand nous prévoyons que la phase d'application de la résolution britannique sera dure, pénible et longue... et peut-être même sans espoir...

.../

Car nous avons devant nous plus d'une expérience sur les attitudes et le comportement d'Israël, sur ses ambitions et sa politique d'expansion, sur ses ruses, ses subterfuges et ses intrigues, et sur ses manoeuvres tendant à entraver tous les efforts pour éteindre le feu qui couve au Moyen-Orient.

Depuis vingt ans, en effet, Israël ne survit que grâce à ses agressions et parce qu'il se moque de l'opinion internationale. La dernière agression n'a fait qu'exciter les appétits des usurpateurs de la Palestine et les encourager à multiplier leurs provocations...

Mais la nation arabe, malgré ses malheurs et ses réserves, se dresse aujourd'hui pour défendre jusqu'à la mort sa volonté de vivre, son existence et son droit... Si elle a perdu la première manche en juin dernier et si elle a perdu quelques-uns de ses territoires, la nation arabe n'a pas été vaincue... c'est-à-dire que sa volonté ne s'est pas laissée abattre.

Israël cherchait à émousser la volonté des Arabes et à abattre leur moral pour réaliser son grand rêve : les contraindre à s'asseoir avec lui à la table des négociations et marchander avec eux leurs droits, leur histoire, leur dignité, leur patrie...

Chose impossible qu'Israël ne parviendra jamais à obtenir...

Bref, en dépit de leur revers, en dépit de leurs souffrances, les Arabes lèvent la tête avec confiance pour clamer bien haut : "Nous ne capitulerons pas", et pour forger, dans la confiance et l'espoir, leur présent et leur avenir...

TEL. No. 145 SAVING TO RAGAT

CONFIDENTIAL

Cypher/Cat A

PRIORITY CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Telno 1227 27 November, 1967

CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No.1227 of 27 November, Repeated for information to UKMIS New York, Washington, Paris, Moscow and Saving to Amman, Algiers, Bahrain (Residency), Beirut Benghazi, Jedda, Khartoum, Kuwait, Rabat, Tripoli, Tunis, Tel Aviv, and JIC Nicosia.

Reference my telegram No.1217: President's speech.

The Press of the following day headlined the more extreme quotations (Ahram perceptibly less than the others). The Ministries were closed (Friday). On Saturday the main headlines concerned Israels reactions. But Ahram pointed out that there was no (repeat no) contradiction between a political solution and military preparations. Akhbar, went to pains to show by analysis that the President had not (repeat not) said that there must be a solution by force of arms - and senior officials in the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and National Guidance explained to me the small print in the speech.

(a) Military force is only one possible way out, but Egypt's desire is for a peaceful solution;

(b) The President did not (repeat not) say the British text was "inadequate" but that it was "not (repeat not) sufficient" i.e., not (repeat not) sufficient without effective action to implement it;

(c) He had not said "no (repeat no) peace with Israel" but "no (repeat no) peace treaty".

The Head of the Information Organisation showed me telegrams of explanation sent to U.A.R. posts abroad, and also gave a Press conference in this vein. On Sunday both Akhbar and Ahram said that the speech was not (repeat not) a call to war - this was malicious Israeli gloss.

2. The Head of Western Europe Department told me that the Ministry were very busy over the interpretation of the President's speech and were awaiting return of Foreign Minister Riad (last night) to consider further tactics. They would of course be ready to welcome Jarring (yesterday's Press headlines this) and put their case. But the important next step was a reconvening of the Arab Summit. It was also announced yesterday that the U.A.R. had asked the Arab League to call the Summit - various dates are mentioned of which the latest is 9 December. This is in line with the President's statement in his speech that a Summit meeting should be held to discuss the Security Counsil's decisions, a new and important Arab economic grouping could be created, and the Arab League should be developed and consolidated, specifically in the economic, political and cultural fields. The tone of the editorials continues to be moderate and constructive.

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY - 5 DEC 1967

CONFIDENTIAL

/3. Popular

3. Popular reactions are not (repeat not) easy to assess. The view of the man in the street was probably favourable to the speech. Many responsible people in the Ministries, public organisations and Press were alarmed and depressed by the bellicosity of its tone. But the official policy clearly remains one of political action in collaboration with other Arabs.

Foreign Office please pass Priority UKMIS New York 154, routine Washington 145, Paris 41, Moscow 41 and Saving to Amman, Algiers, Bahrain (Residency), Beirut, Benghazi, Jedda, Khartoum, Kuwait, Rabat, Tripoli, Tunis, Tel Aviv and JIC Nicosia all Unnumbered.

Mr. Tesh.

[Repeated as requested]

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88888

146 1076.

En Clair F.O. tel. No. ..... SAVING TO ..... Rabat

TEL AVIV TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Telno 1307 28 November 1967

UNCLASSIFIED

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 1307 of 28 November. Repeated for information to U.K. Mission New York, Washington, Amman, Cairo, Beirut and Saving to Jerusalem, U.K. Mission Geneva, Algiers, Bahrain, Benghazi, Jedda, Rabat and Tunis.

My telegram No. 1111 of 11 October: Family Reunion Scheme for Refugees.

Seven West Bank residents are reported to have crossed the Allenby Bridge yesterday, the first day on which the family reunion scheme between Israel and Jordan was resumed.

2. More than 25 persons were expected to cross and as the 1 p.m. deadline drew near both Israel and Jordanian officials are said to have been nonplussed at the failure of the rest of those expected to appear. According to the Jerusalem Post Israel officials thought that notifications of the right to cross, allegedly sent in good time to the Red Cross, might have reached the persons concerned too late or indeed might not have reached them at all.

Foreign Office pass Saving to U.K. Mission Geneva, Algiers, Bahrain, Benghazi, Jedda, Rabat and Tunis.

Mr. Aspin

[Repeated as requested]

AZS 4-XII

LO. 5/11/67

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EEEEE

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1 DEC 1967

SERVICE TELEX ◇ SE...

PRODROME LONDON
PRODROME RABAT
FORAB [illegible] FOREIGN GRPS ZARA [illegible]

1076.

A.L. Southam 29.XI

ROUTINE FOREIGN OFFICE TO PRODROME RABAT
TELEGRAM NUMBER [illegible] [illegible] NOVEMBER, [illegible]

As Y.E knows this is expected to be discussed at any summit.

H. of C. [illegible] 30/11

H E [illegible]
[illegible] 30/11
1/12/67

FOLLOWING RECEIVED FROM PARIS

ADDRESSED TO FOREIGN OFFICE TELNO [illegible] OF 27 NOVEMBER R.F.I. TO [illegible] TEL AVIV AMMAN BEIRUT TRIPOLI TUNIS ALGIERS RABAT UKMIS NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON.

GENERAL DE GAULLE'S PRESS CONFERENCE: MIDDLE EAST

THE FOLLOWING IS THE VERBATIM TEXT OF THE CONCLUDING REMARKS BOUT THE ARAB/ISRAELI DISPUTE MADE BY GENERAL DE GAULLE AT HIS PRESS CONFERENCE ON 27 NOVEMBER. THIS WAS PRECEEDED BY A LENGTHY HISTORICAL ANALYSIS.

SERVICE TELEX ◇

. BEGINS

M. INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENT, UNLESS THE UNITED NATIONS ARE
MSELVES TO TEAR UP THEIR OWN CHARTER, MUST HAVE AS ITS BASIS
EVACUATION OF THE TERRITORIES WHICH HAVE BEEN CITED BY
CE, THE ENDING OF ALL BELLIGERENCE, AND THE RECOGNITION OF EACH
THE STATES IN QUESTION BY ALL THE OTHERS. AFTER THAT, IT WOULD
RABLY BE POSSIBLE, BY DECISION OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND
TH THE PRESENCE AND GUARANTEE OF THEIR FORCES, TO SETTLE THE
MAGI FRONTIER LINES (WHEREBY LE FORCE POSSIT DES FRONTIÈRES),
THE LIVING CONDITIONS AND SECURITY OF THE TWO SIDES, THE FATE OF
TS REFUGEES AND MINORITIES AND THE MODALITIES OF FREE NAVIGATION
AL IN THE GULF OF AQABA AND IN THE SUEZ CANAL. IN ORDER,
WEVER, THAT SUCH SORT OF SETTLEMENT, AND PARTICULARLY ONE OF
S KIND, COULD BE ABLE TO SEE THE LIGHT OF DAY - A SETTLEMENT,
WEVER, TO WHICH FRANCE CONSIDERS THAT AN INTERNATIONAL STATUTE
OF JERUSALEM MUST BE ADDED-IN ORDER THAT SUCH A SETTLEMENT MAY
E PUT INTO EFFECT, THE AGREEMENT OF THE GREAT POWERS, WHICH
OULD IPSO FACTO BRING WITH IT THAT OF THE UNITED NATIONS, IS
AS WOULD BE NECESSARY. IF SUCH AN AGREEMENT WERE TO SEE THE LIGHT
F DAY, FRANCE WOULD BE DISPOSED IN ADVANCE TO LEND ITS POLITICAL,
ECONOMIC AND MILITARY CO-OPERATION TO ENSURE THAT IT WOULD BE
EFFECTIVELY APPLIED. BUT ONE DOES NOT SEE HOW ANY SORT OF
AGREEMENT COULD BE CONCLUDED AS LONG AS ONE OF THE GREATEST OF
HE FOUR POWERS HAD NOT DISENGAGED FROM THE ODIOUS WAR WHICH SHE
S CONDUCTING ELSEWHERE, SINCE EVERYTHING IS INTERCONNECTED IN
HE WORLD OF TODAY. WITHOUT THE DRAMA OF VIETNAM, THE CONFLICT
BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE ARABS WOULD NOT HAVE BECOME WHAT IT IS;
F SOUTH EAST ASIA WERE TO WITNESS THE REBIRTH OF PEACE, THEN
HE WEST ALSO WOULD SOON HAVE AGAIN FOUND SIMILAR PEACE BY
VIRTUE OF THE GENERAL DETENTE WHICH WOULD RESULT
FROM IT.

FM PARIS RABAT [illegible] = ROUTINE

This is the correct version ("évacuation des territoires ..."); and it was quoted correctly in the Moroccan press.

A.L. Southern 30.XI

PRODROME RABAT H.F.

[illegible] S.S.

IX

We certainly keep on this theme!

See X

If one refers comment in the press, the General called for the evacuation of all the territories which have been cited." Please check with the French Embassy on this important point.

30/XI

1076

INWARD TELEGRAM

En Clair
Code Code R
Cypher
(Paraphrase Heading)
Cypher/OTP
En Clair by Conf. Bag

Cypher/CAT A.

[Distribution Heading]

FROM F.O TO RABAT.

[Signature]

[No. and prefix] No. 635

[Date] 30 NOV.

Dcy. 11.55 a.m 4/12.

R 4.10 A.M 2/12.

Repeated to

A.L. Southorn 4.XII

H. of C Thurs 4/12

H. E 5/XII

L.O. 4/12/63

[Priority] PRIORITY

CONFIDENTIAL.

FOLLOWING RECEIVED FROM TRIPOLI.

1163

ADDRESSED TO FOREIGN OFFICE TELEGRAM NUMBER ~~115~~

OF 30 NOVEMBER REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO CAIRO

WASHINGTON BENGHAZI RABAT ALGIERS TUNIS BEIRUT

AMMAN JEDDA KUWAIT BAHRAIN AND KHARTOUM.

VISIT OF U A R VICE-PRESIDENT.

DISTRIBUTION

LIBYAN PRIME MINISTER. WHEN I SAW HIM TODAY TOLD ME THAT SO FAR MAIN OBJECTIVES OF HUSSEIN SHAFEI, VICE-PRESIDENT OF U A R. AT PRESENT ON OFFICIAL VISIT TO KING IDRIS. HAD BEEN TO RE-ESTABLISH THE JOINT ARAB COMMAND WITH ENHANCED CONTRIBUTIONS FROM ARAB STATES. LIBYA HAD DECIDED NOT TO AGREE TO THIS SINCE IT ENTAILED PLACING SUBSTANTIAL SUMS ON DEPOSIT IN CAIRO WITH NO CONTROL OVER THE MANNER IN WHICH THEY WERE SPENT. IT WAS A MATTER OF REGRET THAT THEY FOUND THEMSELVES IN opposition

ADVANCE COPIES TO:—

389.Wt.37518/D161.1000.11/63.C.P.L.Gp.626.

OPPOSITION TO JORDAN ON THIS MATTER BUT THEY WOULD MAINTAIN THEIR OPPOSITION. THE PRIME MINISTER CONFIRMED THAT THE LIBYAN PAYMENT UNDER THE KHARTOUM AGREEMENT WAS NOT A RECURRING COMMITMENT.

2. ABD AL HAMID BAKKUSH WENT ON TO SAY THAT A FURTHER MAIN PURPOSE OF SHAFEI WAS TO STAGE MANAGE THE FORTHCOMING ARAB SUMMIT CONFERENCE SO THAT THE U A R WOULD APPEAR TO OPPOSE ACCEPTANCE OF THE BRITISH/U.N. RESOLUTION AND BE COMPELLED BY PRESSURE FROM OTHER ARAB STATES TO AGREE TO IT. BAKKUSH THOUGHT LIBYA MIGHT AGREE TO THIS COMEDY AND THAT IT WOULD TAKE PLACE.

In parallel with M. Lacoste's version.

3. BAKKUSH TOLD ME THAT SHAFEI WAS PAINED AND SURPRISED AT THE TOTAL ABSENCE OF CROWDS TO APPLAUD HIM AND INDEED OF ANY INTEREST WHATSOEVER IN HIS VISIT. I HAVE MYSELF SEEN THE OFFICIAL CONVOY DRIVING ABOUT WITH LIGHTS FLASHING AND SIRENS GOING WITHOUT A HEAD TURNED OR A CRY FOR NASSER ANYWHERE IN THE TOWN. SHAFEI TRIED TO OBTAIN PUBLICITY BY SUGGESTING A VISIT TO THE CENTRAL MOSQUE IN TRIPOLI TOMORROW FRIDAY. THE LIBYANS HAVE ARRANGED A VISIT TO THE RUINS OF LEPTIS MAGNA AND. SAID BAKKUSH. ~~QUOTE~~ "HE CAN PRAY AT

Home

HOME IF HE LIKES." ~~UNQUOTE.~~ BAKKUSH COMMENTED THAT

THE EGYPTIANS HAD BECOME MUCH SUBDUED.

F O PASS CAIRO 4 RABAT 31 ALGIERS 42 TUNIS 61

BEIRUT 30 AMMAN 24 KHARTOUM 18

SOSFA.

BRITISH EMBASSY
RABAT

1076/67

CONFIDENTIAL

5 December 1967

I have read with interest the correspondence about Nasser's post-war prestige in the Arab world which started with Graham's letter to you, 1071 of 29 October, and appears to rest with Parsons' letter 1076/67 of 18 November to Balfour-Paul.

2. I think that there can be no doubt that in Morocco Nasserism has little influence. It has never had much importance here, in the total absence of any Nasserite political party or press, as well as for geographical reasons, and the major foreign influences on Morocco are Algeria externally and France internally. The Istiqlal is pan-Arab and Islamic (and has openly expressed disapproval of Nasser's vendetta against the Moslem Brotherhood), and the Union Nationale des Forces Populaires, which is left-bank Parisian in origin, has recently been following a more purely left-wing line independent of Nasser. It is significant that one hardly ever sees a picture of Nasser up. In the context of Arab affairs Morocco is normally content to fall in with the majority Arab view, which is generally Nasserite, but this is more out of anxiety to keep out of trouble than from any far-reaching identity of views.

3. The attitude of responsible Moroccans towards Nasser himself seems to be muted suspicion, coupled with the optimistic hope that he may have learnt a lesson from this summer's events. They fear that if he fell they might have to deal with either a more or less communist successor regime or with one dominated by the Moslem Brotherhood, either of which would be more hostile to Morocco than Nasser is expected to be. On the other hand, I do not see his new found moderation appealing to the nationalists here, since this attitude to Israel is akin to that of the Algerian leadership - passionate, unrealistic and ultimately ineffectual. But both sides continue to pay lip-service to Nasser: the government because he is the devil they have got to know, and the others because despite everything he remains the only Arab leader with any claim to universal appeal.

4. I am sending copies of this letter to the recipients of Graham's letter under reference, and to Kuwait.

(L.G. Holliday)

D.J. Speares, Esq.,
North and East African Department.

CONFIDENTIAL

Reference Cairo Tel 1227 to 7.0.

We shall have to follow U.A.R./
Morocco relations with some
care. Do Hassan following in
Nasser's wake or vice versa? Accor-
ding to this telegram, it was
announced in Cairo on 26 November
that the U.A.R had asked the Arab
League to call a Summit meeting.
We know that King Hassan
issued his invitation on 24
November. We also know, since
Laraki told me so, that there was
contact between Rabat and Cairo
over this as soon as the U.K.
Resolution surfaced, perhaps even
before it was voted on. What is
not clear is whether the U.A.R.
and Morocco are following an
agreed line or competing for
control of the situation. My
own analysis of the situation
would be more or less as
follows:—

follows :-

a) King Hassan is convinced that Nasser is still the key to the situation. If he can be kept favourable to a negotiated settlement, such a settlement remains possible.

b) He will have difficulty in carrying his own public opinion with him - perhaps even remaining in power - if he takes this line; see x in Cairo tel 1217 to F.O. and of. what Bijlemans said to me: "peoples will have to be persuaded to accept the U.N. Resolution as well as Governments".

c) Therefore Nasser must be put in a position to appear before his people as following an agreed Arab policy, not a personal one.

d) The way to achieve this is to hold a Summit at Rabat, where moderate counsels are more likely to prevail than elsewhere

(e)

Reference.....

(c) Nasser is fundamentally in agreement but does not want it to appear in advance that he is taking his cues from Hassan: hence the insistence on holding the preliminary meeting of Foreign Ministers at Cairo.

This is an optimistic interpretation. I hope it is right. We should look out for evidence one way or the other.

I.O.L 7/12/67

7/XII

Hope. As far as I can remember Nasser has not left the U.A.R since the June defeat. In view of the U.A.R internal situation he may well have anxieties about doing so. There is little doubt that he has been professing such anxieties to the Moroccans though for what reason one doesn't know

Ed (1626)

Macmillan 7/12

1076

INWARD TELEGRAM

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[Distribution Heading]

FROM FO TO RABAT

[Signature]

[No. and prefix] No. 645

[Date] 7 Dec

D'd 11.45 M 8/12

R 11.25 M 7/12

Repeated to

A.L. Souther 8.XII
H. of S/SW.
H.E.M. 8/XII
11/12/67

[Priority]

CONFIDENTIAL.

FOLLOWING RECEIVED FROM AMMAN.

ADDRESSED TO FOREIGN OFFICE TELEGRAM NUMBER 1327 OF 6 DECEMBER REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO CAIRO RABAT TEL AVIV UKMIS NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON.

MY LETTER 1071/67 OF 1 DECEMBER TO MOORE (NOT COPIED TO ALL):

ISRAEL/ARAB SETTLEMENT.

JORDANIAN MINISTER OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS WILL REPRESENT JORDAN AT FOREIGN MINISTERS~ CONFERENCE IN CAIRO CALLED FOR 9 DECEM- BER. IN MY HEARING THE PRIME MINISTER INSTRUCTED HIM TO TAKE THE LINE THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION INDICATES CLEARLY THE PRINCIPLES IN ACCORDANCE WITH WHICH SETTLEMENT IS TO BE SOUGHT AND TO RESIST MOVES TO DISCUSS THESE IN DETAIL.

Not here.

DISTRIBUTION

ADVANCE COPIES TO:—

The Prime Minister

389.Wt.37518/D161.1000.11/63.C.P.L.Gp.626.

THE PRIME MINISTER SEES THE MEETING ONLY AS A PRELIMINARY TO THE ARAB SUMMIT CONFERENCEWHERE MORE DETAILED DISCUSSIONS WILL BE APPROPRIATE AND DECISIONS WILL HAVE TO BE TAKEN.

2. THE MINISTER OF STATE, WHOM I SAW ALONE SUBSEQUENTLY, SAID HE EXPECTED TO HAVE SOME DIFFICULTY IN STICKING TO THIS DIRECTIVE. FOR ONE THING ALL THE ARAB STATES WOULD WANT TO EXPRESS THEIR OWN INTERPRETATION OF THE RESOLUTION. AND FOR ANOTHER THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE ARAB LEAGUE HAD INSISTED ON INVITING SHUKAIRY. HOWEVER, HE WOULD DO HIS BEST TO AVOID CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES AND TO MAINTAIN MOMENTUM TOWARDS A POLITICAL SOLUTION. HE ATTACHED GREAT IMPORTANCE TO ENSURING THAT THE MANDATE GIVEN TO JORDAN AND THE U.A.R. AT KHARTOUM TO GO AHEAD ON THIS WAS RENEWED AND WAS FAIRLY CONFIDENT THAT THIS COULD BE ACHIEVED. AS TO SHUKAIRY, HE HAD DEALT WITH HIM FIRMLY AT KHARTOUM AND WOULD DO SO AGAIN.

3. I UNDERSTAND THAT IT IS AGREED GENERALLY BETWEEN THE ARABS THAT THE SUMMIT MEETING SHALL TAKE PLACE AT RABAT BUT THAT IT MAY HAVE TO BE DEFERRED UNTIL ABOUT 19 DECEMBER. MAINLY BECAUSE OF THE OTHER COMMITMENTS OF THE SUDANESE. F O PASS RABAT 4

SOSFA

Six pages — 25 milliemes

The Egyptian Gazette

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The Egyptian
شيان جازيت

88th Year No. 28212 ✱

NASSER STRESSES TW ARAB DEMANDS

President gets huge Assembly ovation

A COMPREHENSIVE political speech by President Gamal Abdul Nasser marked the new ordinary session of the National Assembly opening in Cairo yesterday.

Present for the occasion were the Vice-Presidents, the Ministers, members of the ASU General Secretariat, the governors, members of the diplomatic corps, and certain Arab personalities, apart from Arab and foreign press and broadcasting representatives.

The President was met with rousing ovation on his entry into the Assembly Hall at 5.15 p.m. for the speech, and thunderous applause when he ended.

He had been cheered and applauded by the people lining both sides of the road to the Assembly. They shouted slogans and carried banners hailing the President and pledging continued loyalty and a fight to victory.

Confidence

The Assembly session was opened by Speaker Anwar el Sadat who read out the text of a Republican decree winding up the fourth session of the first legislative season, followed by the Republican Decree opening the fifth session on November 23 at 5 p.m.

(Cont. on page 6)

STOP PRESS

MAHGUB HAILS

Enemy must withdraw—no Israeli shipping thro' Canal

FIGHTING SPEECH TO NAT. ASSEMBLY

PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDUL NASSER addressing the National Assembly for two and a half hours yesterday at the opening of the new Parliamentary session, stressed two Arab demands which, he said, are not debatable. These are the complete withdrawal of enemy forces from Arab territories in Egypt, Syria and Jordan, and the banning of Israeli shipping through the Canal whatever the cost.

Passage through the waterway is an integral part of the Palestine question and not connected with the removal of the consequences of the aggression, the President said.

To thunderous applause and rousing ovations the President summed up the resolutions of the Khartum Summit conference to which, he said, the UAR is bound, as being «no recognition of Israel, no peace or negotiation with it, and no disposal of the Palestine question» since this was the concern of the Palestine people.

President Gamal Abdul Nasser asserted that current events called for the holding of an Arab Summit, and emphasised the necessity of a large scale development of the Arab League in the economic, political and cultural spheres.

On the United Nations, the President called the British resolution inadequate as a solution of the crisis, bearing in mind all the interpretations given to it. He said the resolution was being «studied and consultations on it are in progress with our friends.»

The President praised the Soviet Union's support for the Arabs. He also paid tribute to President Charles de Gaulle's attitude, saying the French Head of State had stood by principles despite all pressure. President Nasser also commended the support extended by India, Yugoslavia, Pakistan and other Afro-Asian countries.

TENACITY

The President said the tenacity of the home front had prevented a limited defeat on the battlefield from developing into an all embracing defeat for the country as a whole. He praised the people's attitude on June 9 and 10.

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US, U.K., Canada have joint peace plan for Cyprus

London, November 23,

THE United States, Canada and Britain have put forward a joint peace plan aimed at avoiding more fighting in Cyprus, Commonwealth secretary George Thomson said today.

He told the House of Commons the proposals had been handed over by envoys of the three nations to the governments of Greece, Turkey and Cyprus.

Mr. Thomson, who was being questioned after he made a statement on the Cyprus crisis, refused to disclose details of the plan.

He said only that the U.S., Canada and Britain had jointly «conveyed certain specific proposals to each of the three governments, designed to reduce the tension and lessen the likelihood of renewed fighting on the island.»

He said earlier that Britain was doing all it could to help solve the Cyprus crisis and there-

ISRAELI ARMY CAR BLOWN UP

Tel Aviv, Nov. 23,

AN Israeli soldier was injured today when a military vehicle went over a mine on a patrol track near the River Jordan, just south of the Beith Shean

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Friday, November 24, 1967

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PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDUL NASSER is seen delivering his two and a half hour address at the opening of the new National Assembly session yesterday. El Sayed Anwar el Sadat, the Assembly Speaker, is seen on his left.

Conflict on S.C. decision erupts

United Nations, Nov. 23,

CONFLICTING interpretations of a Middle East peacemaker's mandate threat" en last nigh:'s unanimous Security Council decision to send a U.N. envoy to seek a political settlement.

Diplomats stressed that the resolution was just a «first step» and expressed the view that any accord was still in the distant future. Israel has said repeatedly that it would not withdraw from any Arab territories unless the withdrawal was part of a settlement negotiated directly with the Arabs.

But Egyptian Foreign Minister Mahmud Riad and Jordanian Foreign Minister Abdul Moneim

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Foreign Minister Mahmud Riad is expected to return to Cairo from New York on Sunday. — MEN

****

Rifai both told the Council last night that withdrawal of Israeli troops was the prerequisite for any settlement.

El Sayed Riad told the Council:

«Today we wish to affirm again our position that the first step to peace lies in the full withdrawal of Israeli forces from the territory occupied as a result of their aggression on June 5. Efforts on behalf of peace which would then follow would be in the framework of the (UN) Charter... which requires all states to assume in good faith

INTENSIVE TALKS EXPECTED BEFORE UN ENVOY ARRIVES

United Nations, November, 23,

SECRETARY-GENERAL U THANT is expected to follow up the U.N Security Council's unanimous approval of a British peace formula by sending Swedish diplomat Mr. Gunnar Jarring to the Middle East to try to get negotiations started.

Informed sources said U Thant will name Mr. Jarring, who has served in the Middle East, as U.N. mediator under terms of the British resolution which was passed by the 15-nation Council late yesterday.

Jarring, 60-year-old Swedish Ambassador to Moscow, speaks Arabic and has travelled or served in various parts of the Middle East in past years, as well as many other parts of the world.

The council sent him to India and Pakistan in 1957 to try to help settle their long standing dispute over Kashmir. But despite his efforts the dispute has remained unsettled

Shelling of refugee camp 'deliberate'

Amman, November 23,

RELIABLE Western sources here have presented evidence to the effect that the Israelis deliberately shelled a civilian refugee town during the Jordan-Israel clashes of the past four days.

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(Cont. on page 6)

STOP PRESS

MAHGUB HAILS NASSER'S SPEECH

El Sayed Mohamed Ahmed Mahgub, the Sudanese Prime Minister, commenting on President Nasser's speech last night said that it reaffirmed the meanings of the resolutions of the Arab Summit Conference of Khartum with regard to non-recognition of Israel, or conciliation or negotiations with her over the issue of Palestine.

«We put our hands in his and agree with him, as I believe all the Arab countries will do, in opposing any solution implying recognition of the Israeli presence or imposing her passage through the Suez Canal», El Sayed Mahgub said in an interview with the Khartum correspondent of Cairo Radio.

He said the Sudan welcomed any call for an Arab summit conference to reaffirm the Khartum conference resolutions.

«We stress that such a conference will promote Arab cooperation, and efforts to achieve the objectives of our Arab nation.»—MEN

UN REPRESENTATIVE FOR M.E. NAMED

United Nations, New York, November 23.

The UAR and Israel agreed today to the appointment of Dr. Gunnar Jarring, Sweden's ambassador to Moscow, as United Nations representative for the Middle East.

Secretary-General U Thant later made the formal announcement of the appointment. — Reuter

have joint peace plan for Cyprus

London, November 23,

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Mr. Thomson, who was being questioned after he made a statement on the Cyprus crisis, refused to disclose details of the plan.

He said only that the U.S., Canada and Britain had jointly «conveyed certain specific proposals to each of the three governments, designed to reduce the tension and lessen the likelihood of renewed fighting on the island.»

He said earlier that Britain was doing all it could to help solve the Cyprus crisis and therefore wanted to avoid blaming either Greece or Turkey for the latest troubles.

In Athens Greek ministers and military leaders held almost nonstop talks today as tension rose in Athens and rumours of an imminent Turkish attack on Cyprus swept the city.

Alarmed

Greece's forces were reported to be in a state of maximum alert with senior officers already in possession of sealed instructions to be opened in event of war.

Usually reliable sources said the Greek government had been alarmed by reports that strong Turkish forces were assembled opposite Cyprus.

Greek officials did not hide their anxiety over the crisis, which erupted with armed clashes between Greek and Turkish Cypriots last week.

But the officials also expressed hope that the arrival of United States and United Nations envoys in the area might ease the situation.

Welcomed

Among visitors to the Greek Foreign ministry today were Soviet ambassador Nikolai Koriukine, US ambassador Phillips Talbot and Canadian ambassador H.F. Feaver. Mr. Derek Dodson, counsellor at the British embassy, also called on Foreign minister Papayotis Pipinelis.

A Greek government spokesman today welcomed the US and UN intervention, but warned that no solution was possible as long as Greece was subjected to military threats.

A former US Defence department official, Mr. Cyrus Vance, and UN undersecretary Dr. Jose Rolz-Bennett have been sent to Ankara, Athens and Nicosia.

(Cont. on page 6)

ISRAELI ARMY CAR BLOWN UP

Tel Aviv, Nov. 23,

AN Israeli soldier was injured today when a military vehicle went over a mine on a patrol track near the River Jordan, just south of the Beith Shean valley, an army spokesman said here.

The spokesman reported three cases of mining along the West Bank of the River but said that in all three the mines were discovered and removed without causing damage.

Meanwhile, Commandos of Al Assita continued their operations in the occupied territories. Israeli casualties and losses reflected the active operations of the underground resistance organisation.

Communique No. 82 was issued in Baghdad today by Al Assifa on the commando operations in the week from November 12 to 19.

Assifa communiqué

The Communique said that on November 18, Assifa troops exploded six charges at the Dodge car assembly plant, damaging some sections of the plant. On the same night an oil storage depot was exploded. Exchange of fire took place between the commandos and Israeli forces after damage was done to an Israeli military vehicle. The commandos seized second vehicle. The occupants of the two vehicles were killed.

On November 13, resistance troops launched an attack on an Israeli position in Ein el Shak. The senteries were killed and the position damaged by bombs.—Reuter and MEN

mit conference to which, he said, the UAR is bound, as being «no recognition of Israel, no peace or negotiation with it, and no disposal of the Palestine question» since this was the concern of the Palestine people.

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TENACITY

The President said the tenacity of the home front had prevented a limited defeat on the battlefield from developing into an all embracing defeat for the country as a whole. He praised the people's attitude on June 9 and 10, and called on the National Assembly to meet often and by getting in touch with the masses, to render political action more effective. Of future action on the home front, he said the country's economy was being turned into a war economy to stand a long battle. He stressed the ne-

(Cont. on page 2)

THE WEATHER

FORECAST :

Rather cold weather for this time of the year in Lower Egypt and Cairo, moderate north to northwesterly winds, low and medium cloud concentrating over the North Coast. Chance of rain possibly extending inland. In Upper Egypt, slight decrease in temperature, light to moderate northerly winds, medium and high cloud.

YESTERDAY'S TEMPERATURES

	(Centigrade) Max.	Min.
Cairo	17	14
Alexandria	18	12
Mersa Matruh	17	14
Port Said	—	—
Minia	20	7
Assiut	19	8
Luxor	22	11
Aswan	22	12
Siwa	20	12
New Valley	20	12
Hurghada	20	12

Jordan arms from 'best sources'

Amman, November 23.

JORDAN will buy arms from the best sources available to replace its losses in the June war, Prime Minister Bahjat told parliament.

The Premier's statement appeared to be a hint that Jordan might turn to the Soviet Union for weapons because of Washington's refusal to resume arms shipments here.

Jordan in the past has been equipped exclusively by the United States and Britain. — AP

Gold rush hits record high on London market

London, Nov. 23,

THE wild scramble by financiers to buy gold and move out from paper currencies landed the London bullion market the highest demand it has ever known today.

The gold rush even outpaced yesterday's record hunger for the metal, bullion market sources said. The first mass movement into gold had been triggered from Paris. Both Paris and the Zurich market in Switzerland channel their orders to London.

Buying flooded in from around the world with orders said to be very large scale indeed.

Britons and Americans are not permitted to buy and hoard the metal.

Prices at the «fixing» session where the five firms which operate the closely regulated market meet to set buying orders against sales set the sterling price at 290/10-3/4 the fine ounce and the dollar price at 35.19-7/8. Both were unchanged and were hard up against the official «ceiling.»

The surging demand meant that the industrial nations which have undertaken to work together to keep a lid on the metal's price had to pour out still more tons of gold today from their own holdings to try to stem the flood of buying. They have been having to do this f now.

France confirmed week that it had participation fro pools in June.

The timing of t considered by firms to have spa burst of buying on the already heavy had preceded the the pound when was under siege be ful decision was ta

Today financial q dered that the atta been switched to th might become mo to strains in the lower value of the and high interest upon London. — U

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SOVIET-MA RELATI

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PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDUL NASSER is seen delivering his two and a half hour address at the opening of the new National Assembly session yesterday. El Sayed Anwar el Sadat, the Assembly Speaker, is seen on his left.

INTENSIVE TALKS EXPECTED BEFORE UN ENVOY ARRIVES

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Jarring, 60-year-old Swedish Ambassador to Moscow, speaks Arabic and has travelled or served in various parts of the Middle East in past years, as well as many other parts of the world.

The council sent him to India and Pakistan in 1957 to try to help settle their long standing dispute over Kashmir. But despite his efforts the dispute has remained unsettled

Informed sources said the Swedish Government had agreed to the proposed designation of Mr. Jarring as U.N. envoy only on condition that Russia supported the peace plan.

It was understood that this reservation took account of Mr. Jarring's Moscow posting.

Discussion

Though there were hopes today that the Swedish diplomat would be on his way to the Middle East within a week or so, informants stressed that intensive discussions between U Thant and the Governments concerned must precede any formal announcement.

But diplomatic sources here saw the conflicting interpretations of the peacemaker's terms of mandate as major obstacles to the success of the mission. — AP, Reuter.

SOVIET-MALAYSIA RELATIONS

Kuala Lumpur, Nov. 23

Malaysia announced the opening of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union today.

This is the first such link with a major communist power since this country became independent in 1957. —Reuter

Shelling of refugee camp 'deliberate'

Amman, November 23,

RELIABLE Western sources here have presented evidence to the effect that the Israelis deliberately shelled a civilian refugee town during the Jordan-Israel clashes of the past four days.

Western military personnel who were in El Karama refugee town on Monday when the explosions crashed along a main street reported that the nearest Jordanian army positions were about two miles or more away.

The sources did not wish to be identified.

Western experts who are familiar with both Arab and Israeli army capabilities said it was highly unlikely that Israeli gunners could be that far off target. Mortar bombs were placed in an almost straight line and spaced a minute or so apart, blasting a school, a public square and civilian houses.

Eye on U.N.

The missiles were fragmentation bombs that maimed people but were not steel.

The Jordanian official view, shared by some Western diplomatic sources, was that the Israeli gunfire over past four days and the jet air attack on Tuesday were aimed with New York in mind and the purpose may have been to disrupt any Middle East agreement in the United Nations Security Council.

Israeli broadcasts have argued that the Jordanians started the artillery exchanges and the clashes were another "provocation to be added to the Arab sabotage activities on the Israeli occupied side of the river.» —AP

ISRAEL REACTS TO UN

Jerusalem, Nov. 23,

ISRAELI officials said today the U.N. Security council's approval of a British compromise resolution on the Middle East was «the first step» towards eventual peace in the troubled region.

On the expected dispatch of a U.N. Representative to the Middle East Foreign Ministry spokesman Hanan Baron commented cautiously: «We will examine any forthcoming U.N. move in the light of our declared stand on the issue.»

Israel insists on face-to-face talks with the Arabs as the only way to reach a permanent settlement to the thorny problem. Official sources declined to comment on the resolution's clause calling for the withdrawal of Israel forces from Arab territory occupied in the June war.

Key point of the British draft was a call for withdrawal of Israeli troops from territory in Egypt, Jordan and Syria occupied in last June's Middle East war.

Not leave

Israel has stressed that it will not leave Arab soil until the Arabs consent to direct peace talks.

But the question of Arab soil occupied by Israel promises to be the main, stricking point when negotiations begin.

The Israelis have made plain from the start that they have no intention of giving up any part of Jerusalem and have vowed that the city will never again be «divided.»

(Cont. on page 6)

political settlement.

Diplomats stressed that the resolution was just a «first step» and expressed the view that any accord was still in the distant future. Israel has said repeatedly that it would not withdraw from any Arab territories unless the withdrawal was part of a settlement negotiated directly with the Arabs.

But Egyptian Foreign Minister Mahmud Riad and Jordanian Foreign Minister Abdul Moneim

Foreign Minister Mahmud Riad is expected to return to Cairo from New York on Sunday. — MEN

Rifai both told the Council last night that withdrawal of Israeli troops was the prerequisite for any settlement.

El Sayed Riad told the Council:

«Today we wish to affirm again our position that the first step to peace lies in the full withdrawal of Israeli forces from the territory occupied as a result of their aggression on June 5. Efforts on behalf of peace which would then follow would be in the framework of the (UN) Charter... which requires all states to assume in good faith their obligations under the Charter as well as under international law...

«The inalienable rights of the people of Palestine must be recognised... These rights should under no circumstances be allowed to fall by the wayside...

Guided

Egypt would be guided by these considerations in its continuing search for a peaceful and just solution of the «present crisis in the Middle East,» El Sayed Riad said.

Jordanian Foreign Minister Abdul Moneim el Rifai said: «In the present crisis the basic issue which has to be remedied as an essential step towards peace is the immediate and complete withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from all the territories occupied in the recent conflict.»

Indian Ambassador Gopalaswami Parthasarathi, in a statement endorsed by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vasily Kuznetsov, said the British resolution envisaged «withdrawal of Israeli forces from the whole of Sinai, the old city of Jerusalem, Jordanian territory west of the Jordan River, and the Syrian territory taken in the brief June war.

(Cont. on page 5)

'DIFFICULT POINT' IN UK, NLF TALKS

Geneva, Nov. 23,

TALKS between Britain and South Arabia's National Liberation Front on independence for the territory today reached a «difficult point,» the two delegations announced.

A two-sentence communiqué issued by the two sides gave no hint of the problem but observers had little doubt that the stumbling block was £ 60 million in aid pledged by Britain when she leaves the territory.

The talks are now in their third day. After yesterday's first full day session both sides said an encouraging start had been made.

But at the end of this morning's session neither side was willing to say anything about progress.

Tonight's communiqué said Lord Shakleton, minister without portfolio who heads the British delegation was returning to London and would report to Foreign secretary George Brown.

Before the talks began on Tuesday Lord Shackleton explained that he might have to fly back to London during the week as he was negotiating House of Lords reform with the Conservative opposition party.

The communiqué said negotiations, aimed at giving South Arabia independence within the next seven days, would resume when Lord Shackleton returns tomorrow.

From the start El Sayed Kahtan Mohamed El Shaaby, leader of the NLF delegation, made it plain he would ask for more than the £ 60 million Britain had promised. — Reuter.

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France confirmed earlier this week that it had withdrawn its participation from the «gold pool» in June.

The timing of this news was considered by bullion market firms to have sparked a new burst of buying on the heels of the already heavy buying which had preceded the devaluation of the pound when the currency was under siege before the fateful decision was taken.

Today financial quarters considered that the attack had now been switched to the dollar which might become more vulnerable to strains in the wake of the lower value of the British pound and high interest rates forced upon London. — UPI

SON ET LUMIERE

PYRAMIDS AND SPHINX — Tel. 898880-27553 — Tonight at 6. 30 : English Version. — Private tourist motor-coaches carry spectators there and back, leave daily from near the « Son et Lumière » Kiosk (Al-Tahrir Square) at 5.45 p.m.

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RADIO : Phone 77562 — (Air Cond.) — « Caprice » — Doris Day, Richard Harris (Tech.)

RIVOLI : Phone 77249 — Air Cond.) — « The Swinger » — Anna Margret Tony Franciosa (Tech.).

THE GENERAL CINEMA COMPANY CAIRO CINEMAS

CAPITOL : Phone 46497 — « Imperial Venus » — « Knights of The Queen ».

LUX : Phone 46497 — « Helen Of Troy » — « Mc Senette Programme ».

OPERA : Phone 914343 — (Air Cond.) — Festival of Arabic film. « Intissar Al Chabab » — Farid El Atrache.

RITZ : Phone 912249 — (Air Cond.) — « Man From Del Rio » — « Boy Did I Get A Wrong Numbers ».

HELIOPOLIS CINEMAS

LIBERTE : Phone 86436 — « Gharam Fil Karnak » — Farida Fahmy, Mahmoud Reda — « Texicans ».

NOMANDY : Phone 861254 — « The Brothers Karamazov » — Yul Brynner. — « Laughing 20's » — Laurel and Hardy.

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The Egyptian Gazette

NOVEMBER 24, 1967

Inadequate resolution

THE Security Council has at last taken action on the Middle East crisis. It has unaminously adopted a British resolution, which, although requiring withdrawal of Israeli forces from Arab territories occupied during the June aggression, links this with other measures. The Council sidetracked other resolutions, those sponsored by the Soviet Union, the US and India, Nigeria and Mali.

What matters now is what steps will be taken to implement the British resolution and the extent to which such steps satisfy the Arabs' rights. Israel has already criticised the British resolution because it does not specify that there should be direct negotiations between Arab and Israeli representatives to establish permanent frontiers for the Zionist state. This would mean that Israel will certainly refuse implementation of the resolution if it does not think it is going to gain the frontiers it wants — irrespective of the claims the Arabs have on Israel for its forcible taking of Palestine territory.

As far as the Arabs are concerned, one of the main objections to the British resolution has already been voiced. That is, it does not specify that Israeli withdrawal should be from all territories occupied in June. The word «territories,» without being qualified as «the territories» or «all territories,» could be interpreted as «some territories.» According to Indian sources at the UN, Lord Caradon, the British delegate, assured the Indian delegation at the Security Council that the resolution does in fact imply wihdrawal from all occupied territories but such private assurances can have no validity in face of the wording of the resolution.

Even if, however, steps are taken to implement the resolution on the understanding that Israeli withdrawal is to be from all occupied territories, the problem remains of the exact mandate of the UN representative whom, under the terms of the resolution, Secretary General U Thant should request to proceed to the Middle East «to establish and maintain contacts with the states concerned in order to achieve a peaceful settlement.» Apart from trying to obtain Israeli withdrawal, the representative's mandate would include attempts to end the «state of belligerency» and to attain a solution of the refugee problem and guarantees of «the territorial inviolability» of every state in the area.

These matters go to the heart of the Palestine question. They affect the Palestinian Arabs, the people who were thrown out of their country when Israel was established by force. Should Israel withdraw from the territories occupied in June — which is anything but certain in view of its intransigence — these problems remain. Furthermore, they are linked with the withdrawal question instead of the emphasis being on prior Israeli withdrawal from territory occupied by aggression before

Presiden

(Cont. from page 1)

cessity of completing the formulation of a permanent constitution and of expanding national production.

Dealing with the military aspects, the President said the setback should not be allowed to repeat itself. «We need time to complete our military preparedness now that we have completed our full defensive potential,» he said, adding: «We will attack to liberate our land occupied by the enemy when we become able to do so.»

The President, referring to current efforts in the armed forces in regard to training, and other preparations, said they are deserving the country's appreciation. «Our armed forces», he said, «have regained a substantial part of their military strength.»

Dealing with the June war, the President gave the UAR losses at 10.000 men, 1,500 officers and 40 pilots killed or lost apart from 5.000 men and 500 officers taken prisoner.

The enemy, the President said, may have been able with potential in excess of his energy, and in consequence of «failure on our part we cannot and should not conceal,» to occupy part of our land. But this is not defeat so long as we have not accepted surrender, for the enemy will not be able to impose his will on our own», he said. The President said that war is not weapon against weapon but rather will against will.

The President emphasised that «rights usurped by force could only be regained by force.» Political action, he pointed out, was one form of force, whose logical escalation was military action. «We would not be fair to ourselves», he point out, «if we ignored political action, for then we would find ourselves without friends.»

In this context, President Nasser said, «we have not been isolationist, but have moved in order to prevent circumstances from surrounding and besieging us. Israel has always tried to pretend to the world that it is a weak nation, interested only in peace, but surrounded by aggressive neighbours. Our actions and Israeli statesmen's own words have shown the world the true nature of Israel.

«We are not warmongers», the President also stated. «War», he added, «is not an aim in itself». We are only interested in war in order to restore our usurped rights.

ADVENTURERS

Of the attempt to take over the army command, President Abdul Nasser said it had been launched by some adventurers who only cared for their personal interests. The foiling of that attempt had removed from the midst of national action a mine which threatened serious damage.

The President announced the fall of the «intelligence state» which, he said, is a matter of the utmost importance for purging public life in Egypt. The President recalled that immediately deviations were detected in the intelligence machinery, those responsible had been arrested, and an investigation started. They will be referred for trial before the Revolution Court, he said.

Reverting to internal affairs, the President said a law on illicit profits would be applied to all citizens starting with the President of the Republic. He recalled that all distinctions and privileges had been cancelled, and equality in sacrifices along with more democracy had been introduced.

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"I had then requested to relinquish the Presidency and political action for reasons I explained in my address to the nation However, the masses of the people, with you in their vanguard, rejected my request, and insisted that I should remain in my post of national action. There was no choice before me but to obey the call of our people, with you in the vanguard.

AUTHORISATION

"You also added to the confidence of the people, when you gave me the authorisation to meet the inevitable developments of the crisis and the requirements of the circumstances.

"As your honourable Assembly takes up the work of its fifth session after a hard, long summer, I feel it my duty to draw for you an honest picture of the developments, since the great gesture of the people on June 9, and 10. I considered this a renewal of the revolution and in fact it has been so ever since your generous authorisation that I should face the probabilities and developments of the situation.

"It is my duty to acknowledge the unmatched firmness of the Egyptian people's struggle. This firmness has been demonstrated by the people in the force, honour and dignity with which they confronted one of the most serious of situations. We can indeed say that, during these five months, a far-reaching change has occurred which will assert itself more and more upon our futures. Thanks are due, first and foremost to the people who alone made this change possible.

"Despite the anxiety which we may feel, and despite the many questions which we entertain about the future, and despite the great dangers that still lie ahead of us and which we have to meet, still we should state that we have been able to make our way. We have been able to take a path which the enemy meant to be a blocked path. We have passed through an extremely difficult phase and emerged onto a wider plane where we can recover our ability to move and gain access to material potentialities of resistance.

INDOMITABLE

"Without the people's indomitable faith in the principles of their struggle, in their capability to stand up against hardships, and their faith in their future, it would have been impossible to cross this highly crucial stage and emerge therefrom.

"It is not feasible for any people, no matter how great the genuineness of their struggle, to face that which we have faced and remain as solid and confident as before and find themselves within a few months after the setback gaining in strength and capability and drawing nearer and nearer to the possibility of correcting the consequences of the setback.

"If we consider ancient and modern history, we will find several examples of the debacle into which nations degenerate after being afflicted by military defeat. What happened to us, has previously happened to other, bigger and stronger nations, though what happened to many of these nations has not, thank God, happened to us. This is attributable only to the faith of our people, their tenacity, the sound lines of their struggle and their confidence in their principles and in God.

"The attitude of the masses of our people on June 9 and June 10, was a vivid expression of this belief in themselves, in the sound lines of the struggle, in their principles and in God.

"This attitude was itself a turning point in the crisis.

"This attitude was the line separating the darkness surrounding us and the light, the threads

and the Allies were surprised by the power of Hitlerite Germany, which soon occupied the whole of the European continent within only a few months after the declaration of the war. All the Allies of Britain in Europe had to surrender.

"We all know what happened in Britain after Dunkirk. Britain would not surrender though Nazi Germany, with its military forces had been able to dominate all Europe. We know what Churchill said during the days after the British troops withdrew from Dunkirk, weaponless.

"In his speech Churchill said that the British were like an oyster that had lost its shell and become vulnerable. They would have to shrink inwards and wait patiently until they developed a new shell.

"Britain went on to develop the shell Churchill spoke of at the time, and never surrendered.

"We all remember the air battles over Britain in 1942, and how London and other cities in Britain were exposed to air raids and destruction. Britain, however, never surrendered.

"Thus, we are not the only country in the world facing these conditions, confronted by enemy forces with resources greater than their true potential.

INADEQUACY

"An enemy, supplied with potentials exceeding his capacity, helped by inadequacy on our part which we cannot hide and which we should not hide may be able to occupy a part of our territory. This, too, is not a defeat, insofar as we did not accept surrender, and insofar as our will is free. We will not be defeated.

"Although we were defeated in a military battle, we were not defeated. The enemy has not been able to impose his will on our will.

"We all recall the United States of America. She retreated before Japan in World War II across the whole Pacific Ocean. She retreated, and she was even defeated, in the battle of Pearl Harbour.

"We all know that the Soviet Union retreated before the Nazi invasion till it reached the gates of Moscow itself. The United States, however, did not surrender to Japan, nor did the Soviet Union surrender to Nazi Germany, despite the fact that Nazi Germany had occupied a large part of the Soviet Union and killed a large number of Soviet citizens.

VICTORY

"What was the result? Victory was the result, and the forces of the Nazi Germany and Japan were completely destroyed, though both had achieved great victories at the outset of war. Victory at the end of the Second World War went to those who had retreated or those who had seemed near to defeat during the earlier stages of the war.

"Those who emerged victorious at the end of the war had realised that war was not merely arms against more arms. Rather war is will set against will. They realised that victory was to be achieved by the side that could assert its will over the enemy. Victory, then, is not necessarily the lot of the side that is able simply to destroy the greatest amount of enemy armaments at one stage of the battle, or the side that is able to occupy more of the enemy's territory.

"It is not, therefore, a question of armaments, nor is it the occupation of territories that counts. What counts, in reality, is the will. When we speak about the lost armaments and the occupied territories and of the will of our people who were not subdued, we must recall the situation immediately following the six-day war.

"Following the six-day war,

and to resist. I believed, as a result, that the people would welcome peaceful solutions, either with the United States of America or with the hostile Western countries.

"I thought that the people would see in Gamal Abdul Nasser an obstacle to this. On that basis I took my decision on the night of June 8. On June 9 I announced that decision during my talk to you when one's confidence in almost all things was shaken.

"As I have told you I never imagined that there would be any reaction, either in the dimensions that it actually took nor on a smaller scale. For I considered that the defeat and the shock must have affected us all to the extent of collapse. I was probably mistaken in this belief. I think that all our enemies too, had expected us to collapse under the impact of the shock.

"At the time when our enemies believed we would collapse under the impact of the shock, the people went out to affirm their strong will, that their will was unconquerable, and that to conquer such a will, no loss of equipment or of land, would be of any avail.

"I should like to tell you that on June 9 and 10 when the people went out into the streets in their thousands and millions we had no defences on the western bank of the Suez Canal. Today the circumstances are different, and I am in a position to say this. The enemy then was on the eastern bank of Suez while the road between Suez and Cairo was without a single soldier. The road to Cairo was open, without the slightest opposition because of the total paralysis that had occurred in our armed forces.

MOHIEDDIN

"In Port Fuad, it was the popular resistance which moved in and withstood the attack. It was the popular resistance which moved into Port Said and defended it.

"Zakaria Mohieddin, in his capacity as commander of popular resistance, assumed the responsibility on June 8 at 10.00 p.m., following the reverses suffered by our troops as a result of the encounters that had taken place after June 5.

"It was not difficult for anyone to realise that we had reached a state of complete breakdown. But the people went out and proved that their indomitable will was not to be defeated by the loss of a military battle, the loss of military equipment, or the loss of part of our territory.

"With this popular will the situation took a different aspect. The extremely grave situation became less grave. With the development of this popular will the situation was even liable to improvement and change. This is what we are able to feel now after the lapse of five months when it has become possible for the qualitative developments to produce a quantitative effect that can be taken into account.

EQUIPMENT

"This change, created by the people's will, started on a day when the material facts alone — from the military aspect — showed that we had lost approximately 80 percent of our war equipment in the battles of the six days. As a result of the shock, our forces were scattered and almost lost. This meant, at the time, that we were not able either to attack or to defend ourselves.

"Today, if we adopt the same basis and work out an evaluation of the situation for mere measurement, we can state with satisfaction that our Armed Forces have restored a considerable part of their war power. They, furthermore, stand on a strong front from which they can undertake effective action.

"At this time, I do not wish

ver dreamt we could reach in such a short period of time.

"The people's will helped bring about this great change. This will focused itself into a front of heroic political tenacity. The people refused to give in or relent. It was this front of tenacity that made it possible for national action to move forward and bring about the necessary material changes.

"The steps towards change were successive; and in their succession some of these steps was scarcely felt or perceived. But by reviewing what has happened and by taking a comprehensive look at all that has occurred, we can better see and discover the association between the various steps.

STEPS

"Now let us review these steps:

"First; facing the truth, and being able to comprehend it, besides being able to control ourselves and maintaining our self-confidence constitute the first aspect of the change which we have undergone following the defeat and setback.

"We have called it a setback. Just before writing down some points for this speech I was going through some of the letters sent to me. One of these letters asked about the reasons for calling what had happened to us a setback. The letter added that England was defeated in Dunkirk and withdrew her forces, but did not call what happened to her a setback. They thought of the need to improve people's morale, and determined to continue the fight. Their leaders said that they had nothing but sweat and tears; but they never called what happened a setback.

"Why then should we call it a setback? The fact is that the writer of that letter had good reasons for posing that question. It might be that I was the first person to call it a setback, as an outcome of what we all felt at that time, on June 8 and 9.

"As a matter of fact, I felt that what had happened to us was a real catastrophe. We were rather something like a man who had gone out into the street, and was struck by a car or tram and rendered disabled and helpless.

CHANGE

"In fact, this was our situation on the 8th and 9th. However, a great change took place after that date. The reason for this change was the people's resistance and the resistance of the Arab people in every Arab country, without which we would not be able to hold out It would not have been possible for us to declare to the whole world that though we lost a piece of land, and though we lost a military battle, we did not lose or surrender our will.

"Many changes followed in quick succession, foremost among which was the capacity of this people — which has a long history of struggle behind it — to face the truth. This people faced the truth from the very first day, and was able to absorb this truth. It did not collapse, but rather maintained its balance and self-confidence. It believed in its capacity to survive this defeat and this setback.

"What is the significance of the fact that we lost 80 per cent of our equipment but can still face the enemy while the enemy still occupies our land?

"What is the significance of the fact that we had a large number of casualties Ten thousand men and 1,500 officers were killed in these battles between June 5 and 8, apart from 5,000 men and 500 officers taken prisoner. We lost a great number of Armed Forces personnels. We lost a large number of our sons, the officers and men who died on the battlefield.

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Even if, however, steps are taken to implement the resolution on the understanding that Israeli withdrawal is to be from all occupied territories, the problem remains of the exact mandate of the UN representative whom, under the terms of the resolution, Secretary General U Thant should request to proceed to the Middle East «to establish and maintain contacts with the states concerned in order to achieve a peaceful settlement.» Apart from trying to obtain Israeli withdrawal, the representative's mandate would include attempts to end the «state of belligerency» and to attain a solution of the refugee problem and guarantees of «the territorial inviolability» of every state in the area.

These matters go to the heart of the Palestine question. They affect the Palestinian Arabs, the people who were thrown out of their country when Israel was established by force. Should Israel withdraw from the territories occupied in June — which is anything but certain in view of its intransigence — these problems remain Furthermore, they are linked with the withdrawal question instead of the emphasis being on prior Israeli withdrawal from territory occupied by aggression before any other step can be taken. How, it may be asked, can the Arabs end a state of belligerency — resulting from a war forced on them by Israel — when no account is taken of the Palestinians' rights to their own country? To attain a solution of the refugee problem — together with the maintenance of every state in the area in its present form — is incompatible with Arab rights — for the simple reason that there is no Palestinian state in existence, and the Palestinians have every right to demand one, while the state of Israel, as it now is, is a negation of any solution of the refugee problem.

A just solution of these problems cannot be attained merely by adherence to the text of the British resolution. The UN shows that it cannot be so, for it has previously passed resolutions calling on Israel to return the refugees' property and allow them back to their homes in Palestine.

pretend to the world that it is a weak nation, interested only in peace, but surrounded by aggressive neighbours. Our actions and Israeli statesmen's own words have shown the world the true nature of Israel.

«We are not warmongers», the President also stated. «War», he added, «is not an aim in itself». We are only interested in war in order to restore our usurped rights.

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Reverting to internal affairs, the President said a law on illicit profits would be applied to all citizens starting with the President of the Republic. He recalled that all distinctions and privileges had been cancelled, and equality in sacrifices along with more democracy had been introduced.

TEXT

Following is the full text of the President's speech :

"Citizens, members of the National Assembly :

"I decided to come to your honourable Assembly today without a full written text, out of conviction that what is needed today is a heart-to-heart talk. This talk, which is inevitable should be open, free from the fetters of official texts, and from prepared words and phrases.

"Before I begin this speech, I would like to cite my appreciation and pride on this occasion when your honourable Assembly is reconvening to participate effectively in the responsibility.

"This event is taking place more than five serious and charged months after our great people and your honourable Assembly placed their confidence in me, upon which I withdrew my decision to resign.

"I had taken this decision in the wake of the setback that faced our struggle on June 5, and the five subsequent days.

"Without the able faith in their struggle, to stand up and their faith would have bee cross this highly emerge therefro

"It is not fea ple, no matter genuineness of face that which and remain as as before an within a few m back gaining in pability and dr nearer to the resting the con setback.

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The Egyptian Gazette

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What's in the stars for

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 24. — Born today, you are not one to try to hide your basic nature behind a mask. You prefer to be seen for precisely what you are insofar as that is possible, for you believe that people have more confidence and faith in a person they feel they really know. Because of your openness, you naturally have many friends — and because of your intelligence and your ability to handle your own and others' problems, your friends admire you.

One who seldom asks advice of others, you find that your own reasoning serves you best most of the time. With intelligence and common sense you are quite able to manage for yourself whatever decisions and activities come up through the day. You have your own reasons for doing the things you do — and as long as they satisfy your own demand that they be sensible, they are all the reasons you need.

You have a natural affinity for the truth and are thus able to penetrate another's falsehood almost without trying. Those who attempt to pull the wool over your eyes soon find that you are able to see through almost anything they may fashion of it.

To find what is in store for you tomorrow, select your birthday and read the corresponding paragraph. Let your birthday star be your daily guide.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 25

SAGITTARIUS (November 23 — December 22) — Have faith in your own ability to lead family members in the way they should go. A good day for declaring yourself.

♦ ♦ ♦

CAPRICORN (December 23 — January 20) — Content yourself with what you have. A poor day for making additional purchases. You could be taken.

♦ ♦ ♦

AQUARIUS (January 21 — February 19) — The wise Aquarius will entertain in small groups today rather than trying to achieve it all with one big party.

PISCES (Febr 21). — The tes cheerfuln way toward Saturdays. offer of fri

ARIES (Marc — Make a achieve you nothing sho you. Reali now.

TAURUS (Ap — The mo show yours comes to a ily of frien will be acc

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INDOMITABLE

"Without the people's indomitable faith in the principles of their struggle, in their capability to stand up against hardships, and their faith in their future, it would have been impossible to cross this highly crucial stage and emerge therefrom.

"It is not feasible for any people, no matter how great the genuineness of their struggle, to face that which we have faced and remain as solid and confident as before and find themselves within a few months after the setback gaining in strength and capability and drawing nearer and nearer to the possibility of correcting the consequences of the setback.

"If we consider ancient and modern history, we will find several examples of the debacle into which nations degenerate after being afflicted by military defeat. What happened to us, has previously happened to other, bigger and stronger nations, though what happened to many of these nations has not, thank God, happened to us. This is attributable only to the faith of our people, their tenacity, the sound lines of their struggle and their confidence in their principles and in God.

"The attitude of the masses of our people on June 9 and June 10, was a vivid expression of this belief in themselves, in the sound lines of the struggle, in their principles and in God.

"This attitude was itself a turning point in the crisis.

"This attitude was the line separating the darkness surrounding us, and the light, the threads of which we seized and of which we made a new day, more bright and more hopeful.

"Our people, in this attitude, proved that a part of its land may fall under enemy occupation, but not one part of their will can fall under any occupation. This is the difference between defeat and surrender on the one hand, and between determination to resist and to restore our occupied land and regain the lost victory, on the other hand. The fall of part of the nation into the hands of an enemy, who has been supplied with potentialities exceeding his own, is not true defeat. Neither is it true victory for the enemy.

SURPRISED

"If the will of the people falls victim to the enemy, this would be a true defeat, and a true victory for the enemy. But that the enemy surprised us with a force which we did not expect as we should have done and which we did not do well in facing, that is not defeat.

"In 1939, Britain declared war on Hitlerite Germany — it was not Hitlerite Germany which declared the war. However, Britain Union retreated before the Nazi invasion till it reached the gates of Moscow itself. The United States, however, did not surrender to Japan, nor did the Soviet Union surrender to Nazi Germany, despite the fact that Nazi Germany had occupied a large part of the Soviet Union and killed a large number of Soviet citizens.

VICTORY

"What was the result? Victory was the result, and the forces of the Nazi Germany and Japan were completely destroyed, though both had achieved great victories at the outset of war. Victory at the end of the Second World War went to those who had retreated or those who had seemed near to defeat during the earlier stages of the war.

"Those who emerged victorious at the end of the war had realised that war was not merely arms against more arms. Rather war is will set against will. They realised that victory was to be achieved by the side that could assert its will over the enemy. Victory, then, is not necessarily the lot of the side that is able simply to destroy the greatest amount of enemy armaments at one stage of the battle, or the side that is able to occupy more of the enemy's territory.

"It is not, therefore, a question of armaments, nor is it the occupation of territories that counts. What counts, in reality, is the will. When we speak about the lost armaments and the occupied territories and of the will of our people who were not subdued, we must recall the situation immediately following the six-day war.

"Following the six-day war, the situation was extremely unfavourable; our losses in equipment were great and part of our territory occupied. We were all shocked by the setback. Each one of us was shocked and surprised by the outcome of the battle. I too was shocked by the outcome. It is true that my surprise was not felt on June 8 or 9, but rather on June 6 when I began to realise the magnitude of the loss we had suffered. On June 8, I decided to resign for the very obvious reason of responsibility. I was confident and certain that there would be no reaction to my resignation speech.

REACTION

"I believed there would be no reaction to the resignation speech, for I felt the shock and I felt that every one of you in this country had felt the shock. I felt that there must be someone responsible for what had happened, there must be someone to bear the responsibility for the great hopes, promises and aspirations.

"I believed that the people, after the rapid military defeat of their forces, would greatly lose hope in our ability to hold out our troops as a result of the encounters that had taken place after June 5.

"It was not difficult for anyone to realise that we had reached a state of complete breakdown. But the people went out and proved that their indomitable will was not to be defeated by the loss of a military battle, the loss of military equipment, or the loss of part of our territory.

"With this popular will the situation took a different aspect. The extremely grave situation became less grave. With the development of this popular will the situation was even liable to improvement and change. This is what we are able to feel now after the lapse of five months when it has become possible for the qualitative developments to produce a quantitative effect that can be taken into account.

EQUIPMENT

"This change, created by the people's will, started on a day when the material facts alone — from the military aspect — showed that we had lost approximately 80 percent of our war equipment in the battles of the six days. As a result of the shock, our forces were scattered and almost lost. This meant, at the time, that we were not able either to attack or to defend ourselves.

"Today, if we adopt the same basis and work out an evaluation of the situation for mere measurement, we can state with satisfaction that our Armed Forces have restored a considerable part of their war power. They, furthermore, stand on a strong front from which they can undertake effective action.

"At this time, I do not wish to enter into military details from which the enemy might benefit, and which are of no use to us. It is enough to state that the actual capability of our Armed Forces now exceeds their capability before the beginning of the battles. This is the great change which we ne- and was struck by a car or tram and rendered disabled and helpless.

CHANGE

"In fact, this was our situation on the 8th and 9th. However, a great change took place after that date. The reason for this change was the people's resistance and the resistance of the Arab people in every Arab country, without which we would not be able to hold out. It would not have been possible for us to declare to the whole world that though we lost a piece of land, and though we lost a military battle, we did not lose or surrender our will.

"Many changes followed in quick succession, foremost among which was the capacity of this people — which has a long history of struggle behind it — to face the truth. This people faced the truth from the very first day, and was able to absorb this truth. It did not collapse, but rather maintained its balance and self-confidence. It believed in its capacity to survive this defeat and this setback.

"What is the significance of the fact that we lost 80 per cent of our equipment but can still face the enemy while the enemy still occupies our land?

"What is the significance of the fact that we had a large number of casualties. Ten thousand men and 1,500 officers were killed in these battles between June 5 and 8, apart from 5,000 men and 500 officers taken prisoner. We lost a great number of Armed Forces personnels. We lost a large number of our sons, the officers and men who died on the battlefield.

"After June 8, we were vulnerable to the enemy: the battle-front was vulnerable and the cities were vulnerable, too. We did not have a line of defence on the

(Cont. on page 4)

TOMORROW'S BRIDGE by WILLIAM SEAMON TODAY

This Easy Hand is Usually What Upsets the Apple Cart
North-South vulnerable
North deals

NORTH
♠ A Q 3
♥ K Q J 9 6
♦ K 6 4
♣ 3 2

WEST	EAST
♠ 8 6 2	♠ 5 4
♥ A 10 7 4	♥ 8 5 2
♦ J 9	♦ Q 10 8 2
♣ K 10 5 4	♣ A 9 7 6

SOUTH
♠ K J 10 9 7
♥ 3
♦ A 7 5 3
♣ Q J 8

The bidding:

NORTH	EAST
1 Heart	Pass
2 Spades	Pass
Pass	Pass
SOUTH	WEST
1 Spade	Pass
4 Spades	Pass

Opening lead: Two of spades

It has been our misfortune to see a million hands go down the drain because a declarer started playing for overtricks before insuring his contract. To this we get belligerent because it shows a lack of stability in any player.

Don't let anybody kid you — when one is set on a cold hand and explains that under normal conditions he would have made an extra trick, he is merely clouding the issue. In the so-called upper echelon of bridge we have many such players. When they are right, they are the greatest players in the world (just ask them). When they are wrong, it is unlucky. We have a better word.

This hand is just a breeze, but many declarers fell flat when they saw a chance to make an extra trick. The result — down one. West led a small trump and declarer won the trick in his hand. A small heart was led at once and West played low quite properly. The king won the trick in dummy and now many players became confident about the contract and tried to trump out the heart ace with disastrous results.

Normal play should be easy. When West ducks the heart, a second high heart should be led and South should throw a diamond. West will now take the ace and presumably play a second spade which the dummy will win as East follows.

Declarer can now trump a small heart (with a high trump) and return to dummy with the last spade, exhausting the opponents' trumps. On the two good hearts, declarer can throw a diamond and a club and concede two club tricks.

This hand is so easy that it is almost too easy. But — that's the kind that usually upset the apple cart.

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PISCES (February 20 — March 21). — The Pisces who radiates cheerfulness is well on the way toward the happiest of Saturdays. Keep alert to an offer of friendship.

♣ ♣ ♣

ARIES (March 22 — April 20). — Make a sustained effort to achieve your end today and nothing should be able to stop you. Realise social potential now.

♣ ♣ ♣

TAURUS (April 21 — May 21). — The more enthusiastic you show yourself to be when it comes to an outing with family of friends the more you will be accepted by others.

♣ ♣ ♣

GEMINI (May 22 — June 21) — A day for maintaining your equilibrium no matter what occurs. Be especially careful that you do not demonstrate any sign of fear.

♣ ♣ ♣

CANCER (June 22 — July 23) — Enduring and endearing qualities that have escaped others' attention until now may well be seen today. A rewarding day.

♣ ♣ ♣

LEO (July 24 — August 23). — Unselfish Leo could fall into a trap laid by those ready to take advantage of all who eagerly lend a helping hand. Take care.

♣ ♣ ♣

VIRGO (August 24 — September 23). — Don't let the lure of heroic deeds cause you to take chances unnecessarily. You owe loved ones more than that.

♣ ♣ ♣

LIBRA (September 24 — October 23.) — You should find very little beyond your reach today in the realm of personal relationships. A good day for character building.

♣ ♣ ♣

SCORPIO (October 24 — November 22). — Let your enthusiasm for what you're doing continue to develop — even in the face of opposition from family and friends.

OFFICIAL AND PERSONAL

President Gamal Abdul Nasser yesterday sent a congratulatory message to President Charles de Gaulle of France on the occasion of his birthday anniversary.

✦ ✦ ✦

The Menufia Governor, El Sayed Gamal Hammad, yesterday called on the Minister of Education, Dr. Abdul Aziz el Sayed.

✦ ✦ ✦

Acting Foreign Minister, El Sayed Ahmed Hassan el Fiky, yesterday conferred with the Libyan Ambassador to Cairo, El Sayed Abdul Salem Biskry.

✦ ✦ ✦

Herr Wolfgang Kiesewetter, Deputy Foreign Minister of the German Democratic Republic, left for Berlin yesterday after the end of a three-day visit to the UAR.

✦ ✦ ✦

The Commanding General of the Somali Armed Forces, General Mohamed Zayyad, left Cairo yesterday en route to Somalia after a two-day visit to the UAR.

✦ ✦ ✦

The Grand Sheikh of Al Azhar, Sheikh Hassan Maamun, yesterday received the Indonesian Ambassador to Cairo, Mr. Ahmed Jonus Nokoginta.

✦ ✦ ✦

Sheikh Aly Abdul Rahman, Chairman of the Sudanese People's Democratic Party, left Cairo en route to Sudan yesterday after a week's visit to the UAR.

✦ ✦ ✦

El Sayed Ahmed el Shukairy, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, will hold a press conference at noon today, Friday at the headquarters of the PLO, Dokki.

✦ ✦ ✦

The Board of Directors of the Tourism Promotion Authority, Alexandria, will meet on Sunday under the chairmanship of the Governor, El Sayed Hamdy Ashur.

MACKAWEE GOES TO ALGERIA: SITUATION IN SOUTH 'CRITICAL'

Britain held directly responsible

EL SAYED ABDUL QAWEE MACKAWEE, Secretary-General of the Front for the Liberation of the Occupied South Yemen (FLOSY), left Cairo yesterday for Algiers at the head of a five-man delegation on an official visit at the invitation of the Algerian Government.

Prior to his departure, El Sayed Mackawee said his week-long visit to Algeria was intended to explain recent developments in the occupied South and in order to obtain further support from the Algerian Government and people.

El Sayed Mackawee said he was keen to meet Algerian President Houari Boumedienne and top Algerian officials and that he would have direct contacts with various popular organisations in order to explain the developments in the situation in the South.

Concluding, he said that he would return to Cairo at the end of his visit to Algeria and that he would then tour certain East European countries to expound the question of the South, the dimensions of the imperialist conspiracy and FLOSY's attitude towards this conspiracy, which is an integral part of Anglo-American strategy in the Arab world.

The delegation comprises El Sayed Mackawee, El Sayed Mohamed Aly Murgan, El Sayed Abdullah Motlaq, El Sayed Saleh Majaaly, and El Sayed Ahmed Aly Zeid.

El Sayed Mackawee had earlier in the day issued a statement, in which he announced that FLOSY would not remain silent about the continued acts of terrorism against the people in Lahej, Aden, El Aulaqy, Dathina, Beihan, El Dalei and Hadramaut.

FLOSY, the statement said, has been following the critical situation in the area, the continued bloodshed of the innocent, the imprisonment of hundreds of people, the plundering of houses and property and the continued brutal bombardment of FLOSY Army positions by the Royal Air Force.

The statement called upon the soldiers and officers of the South Army to return to the path of the October 14 Revolution. The statement held Britain directly responsible for such massacres and for the campaign of wholesale arrests which would turn Britain's economic and political interests in the South into principal targets for people's armed resistance.

It also affirmed the people's adherence to their right to Perim island. It expressed FLOSY's support for the report submitted by the UN Committee on South Arabia to the international organisation. — MEN

'Canal clearance would take three months'- Mashhur

THE Board Chairman of the Suez Canal Authority, El Sayed Mashhur Ahmed Mashhur, received on Wednesday a number of correspondents representing European and American press agencies in Cairo.

During the two-hour conference, El Sayed Mashhur explained the policy of work in the Canal and answered the newsmen's questions.

In reply to a question about the period required for clearing the Canal, El Sayed Mashhur said «three months».

He added that the Authority would seek the help of various capable international firms to help execute the project, in addition to using the Authority's dredgers and other facilities.

AN area of 2,000 feddans in Abis will be distributed among a number of farmers from Suez area who came to Abis.

The Governor of Alexandria El Sayed Hamdy Ashur, has issued instructions forming a special committee to study the situation of these farmers who number about 3,872, and to provide them with all their requirements.

Arrangements have also been made to add eight new classes to a school in the eight village in Abis for about 400 children of the Suez farmers.

DR. SALAH EL ABD, Director-General of the Organisation for the Exploitation and Development of Reclaimed Land; said yesterday that, as from November 25, title deeds would be distributed among Esna families which suffered from the second heightening of the Aswan Dam.

About 2,000 families will benefit from this project involving the distribution of an area of 4,000 feddans.

As from next May, title deeds will be distributed among some Kom-Ombo families. They, too, were affected by the construction of the High Dam. An area of 27,500 feddans will be distributed among them.

THE Under-Secretaries of the Ministry of Supply, El Sayed Fathy Omar, Hassanein Mohamed

£17 MILL. CREDITS FROM GFR

A BANKING and financial agreement to facilitate and reactivate trading transactions between the UAR and West Germany was signed here yesterday.

The agreement was signed by the Central Bank of Egypt and a number of West German industrial companies.

It provided that the repayment of dues for some German banks and traders amounting to the equivalent of LE 19 million would be postponed.

Credit facilities amounting to £ 17 million will be accorded by German banks in the form of credit facilities to consolidate trading and banking dealings between UAR and German banks.

The agreement was signed with the consent of the Governments of the two countries.

UAR-UK talks

Meanwhile, El Sayed Mahmud Younes, Minister of Transport Petroleum and Mining, conferred yesterday with the delegation of British businessmen currently visiting the U.A.R. The delegation, which arrived in Cairo last Tuesday, is led by Mr. Charles Duke, Chairman of the Middle East Trade Corporation.

The U.A.R. Minister discussed with the British delegation the possibilities of financing some industrial projects carried out in the U.A.R. through insurance facilities submitted by the British side.

Besides financing some projects, the British side would provide railway carriages and buses for transportation requirements.

The facilities to be provided by the British side would be also

Lebanon, UAR: talks on tourism

EL SAYED MICHEL EL KHURY, the Lebanese Minister of Tourism and Planning, arrived in Cairo yesterday. He was met at the Airport by El Sayed Amin Shaker, Minister of Tourism, as well as El Sayed Adel Taher and El Sayed Mahmud Seif el Nasr, both Under-Secretaries for Tourism.

The Lebanese Minister expressed his pleasure at the opportunity to attend President Nasser's speech to the National Assembly.

He said he would resume his talks with El Sayed Shaker which began during the UAR Minister's recent visit to Beirut, and which concerned tourist cooperation between the two countries.

Concluding, El Sayed Khury said he would also meet Dr. Abdul Moneim el Kaissuny, Minis-

News from the Governorates

ISRAEL'S ENVOY TO ETHIOPIA KILLED

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Nov 23

Israel's Ambassador to Ethiopia, Mr. Haim Ben-David, was killed in an air crash about 100 miles (160 kms) from Addis Ababa last Tuesday, Israeli embassy sources disclosed today.

A FAO specialist from Israel and the plane's French pilot were injured. Their names

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LOCAL NEW

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GDR-UAR TALKS IN

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...cialist from Israel ...ne's French pilot ... Their names ... disclosed but

VICE PRESIDENT ALY SABRY is seen handing an order of merit (first class) to one of three chairmen of companies in Suez in recognition of their efforts in fighting the fires that broke out after the Israeli attack on Suez last month On his right is El Sayed Hamed Mahmud, Governor of Suez.

SOVIET TRADE MISSION DUE HERE NEXT MONTH

ECONOMY and Foreign Trade Minister Hassan Abbas Zaky conferred yesterday with the Commercial Counsellor at the Soviet Embassy on economic relations between the two countries.

They also discussed development of the volume of trade between the two countries and possibility of increasing it during the forthcoming stage.

A Soviet economic delegation is expected to pay a visit to the UAR next month to sign an economic cooperation protocol for next year.

DR. AZIZ SIDKY Minister of Industry, yesterday received Mr. Marko Ayon, Rumanian Under-Secretary for Foreign Trade, currently visiting the UAR.

They discussed consolidation of trade and industrial relations between the two countries in the light of the standing agreements between them.

LOCAL NEWS IN BRIEF

EL Sayed Mohamed Fayek, Minister of National Guidance received yesterday Mr. Marcel Lnguima, personal envoy of President Joseph Mobutu of Congo (Kinshasa), with whom he discussed relations between the two countries.

Mr, Lnguima had arrived in Cairo last Wednesday. He said on arrival that he was carrying a message from President Hobutu to President Gamal Abdul Nasser.

He added the Congo was the victim of a flagrant aggression, "but the people and army repelled the aggression and could thus safeguard the territorial integrity of the Congo."

In an exclusive interview with the Middl East News Agency, President Mobutu's personal envoy paid tribute to the UAR government and people for their honourable stand by the side of the Congo during its crisis."

This he said, is proof of the solidarity and friendship binding the two countries.

He said his Cairo mission is part of direct contacts being held between the leaders of friendly countries with a view to consolidating the ties of friendship between the Congo and those countries.

He said that from Cairo he would proceed to Tanzania and Uganda on a similar mission. — MEN

GDR-UAR YOUTH TALKS IN BERLIN

Berlin Nov. 23

El Sayed Ahmed Kamel, Secretary of the Central Committee of the UAR's Socialist Youth Organisation (SYO), was received yesterday by Deputy Ministerial Council Chairman Dr. Gerhard Weiss, the East German news agency ADN reported.

The two men "affirmed during a cordial discussion that the

PRODUCTION TRADE FOR 2-WEEK STUDY

El Sayed Hassan Abbas Zaky, Minister of Economy and Home Trade next week starts a series of meetings which will last two weeks with the ministers concerned with the various production sectors.

The meetings, to be held according to the Planning Committee's directives, are scheduled to consider the import and export needs each sector along with the foreign exchange potentials for the financing of operations in the light of anticipated changes in certain items of the foreign exchange budget. The meetings will also consider the effect of sterling devaluation in relation to the standing trade and payments agreements, particularly with regard to exports of agricultural and industrial goods to certain countries which trade with sterling.

The Minister will submit a report on the outcome of such studies to the Planning Committee immediately the foreign currency budget statement has been given the final touches. —MEN

Sabry decorates company chairmen

EL SAYED ALY SABRY, Vice President and Resident Minister for the Suez Canal Zone yesterday distributed the Order of Merit, First Class to three chairmen of companies in Suez in recognition of their heroic efforts in fighting the fire that broke out at those firms as a result of the recent Israeli aggression on Suez.

The three chairmen are Dr. Mahmud Hamed el Hefnawy, Chairman of the Nasr Petroleum Company; Dr. Mustafa Abdul Mutaleb, Chairman of the Nasr Fertilisers and Chemical Industries in Suez; and El Sayed Mohamed Ramzy el Leithy, Chairman of the Suez Company for Petroleum Processing.

The presentation of the awards was attended by El Sayed Shaarawy Gomaa, Minister of the Interior and El Sayed Hamed Mahmud, the Governor of Suez.

Vice-President Aly Sabry then had a meeting with the chairmen during which he discussed with them the repair of the damage sustained by the firms.

Meanwhile, in Cairo, El Sayed Amin Howeidy Minister of War, at a ceremony yesterday, distributed the decorations presented by President Gamal Abdul Nasser to firemen and officers of the Armed Forces in recognition of their outstanding efforts in fighting the Suez fires.

Appreciation

Addressing the officers and men, he said, «I am pleased to meet you on such an occasion and to be able to appreciate the efforts you exerted in the crucial and difficult circumstances which face us in this decisive stage of our history.» — MEN

Governor, El Sayed Hamdy Ashur.

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The Lebanese Minister expressed his pleasure at the opportunity to attend President Nasser's speech to the National Assembly.

He said he would resume his talks with El Sayed Shaker which began during the UAR Minister's recent visit to Beirut, and which concerned tourist cooperation between the two countries.

Concluding, El Sayed Khury said he would also meet Dr. Abdul Moneim el Kaissuny, Minister of Planning, to exchange views and to study the possibility of strengthening cooperation in the field of planning between the two countries.

El Sayed Shaker also said that the resumption of these talks is a preliminary to a practical overall plan for tourism between the two countries, to serve as a basis for cooperation between all Arab countries.

While he is here, the Lebanese Minister will also attend the inauguration of the shooting season today. — MEN

BUY UNICEF GREETING CARDS AND HELP THE WORLD'S CHILDREN. — Beautiful and artistic UNICEF Greeting Cards on sale again at P.T. 4,5 per card. Obtainable in Cairo at «Reader's Corner», 33, Sharia Abdul Khalek Sarwat, Tel. 42801; in Alexandria, Librairie Komel, 8, Sh. Mahmud el Falaki, Tel. 34864; in Port Said, Ibrahim el Tahan, 7, Sh. Safia Zaghlul, Tel. 2819. UNICEF Calendars also on sale at P.T. 90 each.

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Besides financing some projects, the British side would provide railway carriages and buses for transportation requirements.

The facilities to be provided by the British side would be also extended to the field of petroleum. The British side has agreed to the establishment of oil depots in the UAR.

The British delegation is due to meet with the Minister of Industry, Dr. Aziz Sidky, to discuss the possibility of British contributon to the financing of further industrial projects including the motor-car industry and the provision of wool for UAR factories. — MEN

RIFAAT STUDIES MORE DISMISSALS

The Committee formed under the chairmanship of El Sayed Kamaleddin Rifaat, the Labour Minister, yesterday resumed study of petitions by those dismissed from their posts by decision of the Supreme Conr roland the Supreme Feudalism Liquidation Committees.

Twenty such cases were considered together with thirty cases of contraventions of the Agrarian Reform Law.

The Committee at its previous meetings had studied 280 dismissal cases and 60 cases involving persons placed under sequestration.

The committee first met on November 12. —MEN

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News from the Governorates

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DR. SALAH EL ABD, Director-General of the Organisation for the Exploitation and Development of Reclaimed Land; said yesterday that, as from November 25, title deeds would be distributed among Esna families which suffered from the second heightening of the Aswan Dam.

About 2,000 families will benefit from this project involving the distribution of an area of 4,000 feddans.

As from next May, title deeds will be distributed among some Kom-Ombo families. They, too, were affected by the construction of the High Dam. An area of 27,500 feddans will be distributed among them.

THE Under-Secretaries of the Ministry of Supply, El Sayed Fathy Omar, Hassanein Mohamed Hassanein and Hafez Awad, have made an inspection tour of Fayum Governorate to be acquainted with various supply problems there

They held meetings with governorate officials and discussed means of solving various supply problems.

A SPANISH ship arrived at Alexandria yesterday with 2,650 tons of flour from Spain A Rumanian ship arrived with 1,700 tons of wheat from Rumania, and a Greek ship, brought 3,000 tons of flour from Holland. — GSS and MEN

KUWAIT PAYS INSTALMENT

Amman, Nov. 23

Jordan has received a cheque for 1.358.024 dinars (about £1,575,300 new rate) from Kuwait as a second monthly instalment of Kuwaiti aid pledged at the Khartum Arab summit the Finance Ministry announced today.

Jordan received the first instalment on October 22.

Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Libya had pledged to pay yearly in instalments £95 million to the United Arab Republic and £40 million to Jordan (old rate) "until the traces of the Israeli aggression are removed.»—Reuter

Sixty years ago

From «The Egyptian Gazette» November 24, 1907

A correspondent writes from Cook's P.S. Rameses under date of the 23rd inst. at Assouan: — Luxor has for the tourist an attraction which is more than fascinating. Not to mention the numerous bequests of the Pharaohs which demand one's attention and greatly impress one, the hotel life alone is most delightful. A garden is now being laid round the Luxor temple and the front quay as it is commonly known, will be a great improvement. The weather is delightful and there are an exceptionally large number of visitors at Luxor for the time of the year.

has been following the critical situation in the area, the continued bloodshed of the innocent, the imprisonment of hundreds of people, the plundering of houses and property and the continued brutal bombardment of FLOSY Army positions by the Royal Air Force.

The statement called upon the soldiers and officers of the South Army to return to the path of the October 14 Revolution. The statement held Britain directly responsible for such massacres and for the campaign of wholesale arrests which would turn Britain's economic and political interests in the South into principal targets for people's armed resistance.

It also affirmed the people's adherence to their right to Perim island. It expressed FLOSY's support for the report submitted by the UN Committee on South Arabia to the international organisation. — MEN

ISRAEL'S ENVOY TO ETHIOPIA KILLED

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Nov 23

Israel's Ambassador to Ethiopia, Mr. Haim Ben-David, was killed in an air crash about 100 miles (160 kms) from Addis Ababa last Tuesday, Israeli embassy sources disclosed today.

A FAO specialist from Israel and the plane's French pilot were injured. Their names have not been disclosed but officials of Ethiopian Airlines owners of the plane said they had been taken to hospital in Addis Ababa.

Mr. Ben-David was said to have died immediately in the crash. His body will be flown to Israel as soon as his wife and two of his sons, who left for Israel recently, arrive back in Addis Ababa.—Reuter

LOCAL NEWS

EL Sayed Mohi Minister of Nati received yesterday Lnguima, personal sident Joseph Mob (Kinshasa), with cussed relations b countries.

Mr. Lnguima h Cairo last Wedne on arrival that h a message from P tu to President Nasser.

He added the victim of a flag

GDR-UAR TALKS IN

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El Sayed Ahme retary of the Cen of the UAR's S Organisation (S ceived yesterday nisterial Council Gerhard Weiss, t man news agency

The two men "a a cordial discus exchange of idea political organis two friendly nat ordinarily valuab velopment of the lations," ADN sa

El Sayed Kamel East Germany delegation by the mittee of the GDR Youth Organisat

TODAY'S RADIO AN

EUROPEAN RADIO PROGRAMME

07.00	News in Greek
07.15	News in Italian
07.30	News in English
07.45	News in German
08.00	News in French
08.15	Fifteen minutes on Cyprus
08.30	French variety
09.00	Classical requests
10.30	English requests
11.30	Time for friends
12.30	Variety
13.00	Latin American music
13.30	Italian songs
14.00	News in French
14.15	French variety
14.30	News in English
14.40	English variety
15.00	News in Greek
15.10	Greek requests
16.00	Close down
18.30	Light music
19.00	German music
19.30	Italian variety
20.00	News in English
20.10	Ballet music
20.15	Short story
20.30	Dance music
21.00	News in French
21.15	Weekly magazine
21.45	Music
22.45	French variety
23.45	Midnight melodies
24.00	Close down.

TELEVISION

FIRST PROGRAMME (CHANNEL 5)

11.00	Opening and News
11.05	Religious Song
11.10	Friday Prayers
12.10	Songs
12.30	Children's Corner
13.00	News
13.10	Song
13.15	Animal World
13.30	Woman's Magazine
14.45	Arabic play — serial
15.30	Varieties
16.00	Open pro
18.15	News
18.30	Open pro
22.00	News
22.15	Week's E
22.30	Continuat open pro
23.30	Koran
23.45	Close dow

SECOND PR (CHANN

18.00	Opening nal progra
20.00	News
20.15	Programm
20.17	German film — T
20.30	Peyton Pl
21.00	Czechoslov Black Mo
22.15	The Saint
23.00	Close dow

THIRD PRO (CHANN

19.00	Opening French
19.15	Play — s
20.05	German film — A in Therin
20.30	News in
20.45	Boston Sy
21.15	Foreign s
22.15	Close dow

FOURTH PR (ASSI

19.00	Opening Book
19.14	Song
19.21	Week-end
19.53	Foreign s
20.41	Light upo
21.34	Arabic fil
23.00	Close down

FIFTH PRO (ASWA

18.00	Opening a
18.10	Week-end
18.36	Foreign s
19.00	Play — s
19.54	Song
19.58	Light upo
20.49	Arabic fil
23.00	Close dow

Small Prepaid Advertisements

AN ARAB couple at HELIOPOLIS wants an ENGLISH or AMERICAN lady to teach them ENGLISH, and stay with them at home. Contact daily phone 60035-60357. No Intermediate.

(9053)

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(236927)

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GOVERNESS, certified, experienced, speaks fluent French, requests employment with good family. Write to Governess, P.O.B. 990, Cairo.

(8389)

TO LET near Guezira Sporting Club furnished flat — all modern conveniences — Phone 800839 between 10 a.m. 14 p.m.

(8381)

TO LET AT ZAMALEK, a nice furnished flat 7 rooms, 2 baths, near Sporting Club. Apply: Farid Yazbek, 27 Talaat Harb Street Cairo, Tel. 54298.

(9054)

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Under-Secretary for Foreign Trade, currently visiting the UAR.

They discussed consolidation of trade and industrial relations between the two countries in the light of the standing agreements between them.

LOCAL NEWS IN BRIEF

EL Sayed Mohamed Fayek, Minister of National Guidance received yesterday Mr. Marcel Lnguima, personal envoy of President Joseph Mobutu of Congo (Kinshasa), with whom he discussed relations between the two countries.

Mr. Lnguima had arrived in Cairo last Wednesday. He said on arrival that he was carrying a message from President Hobutu to President Gamal Abdul Nasser.

He added the Congo was the victim of a flagrant aggression,

GDR-UAR YOUTH TALKS IN BERLIN

Berlin Nov. 23

El Sayed Ahmed Kamel, Secretary of the Central Committee of the UAR's Socialist Youth Organisation (SYO), was received yesterday by Deputy Ministerial Council Chairman Dr. Gerhard Weiss, the East German news agency ADN reported.

The two men "affirmed during a cordial discussion that the exchange of ideas between the political organisations of the two friendly nations is extraordinarily valuable for the development of their mutual relations," ADN said.

El Sayed Kamel was invited to East Germany with a youth delegation by the Central Committee of the GDR Free German Youth Organisation.—UPI

...the Congo during its crisis."

This he said, is proof of the solidarity and friendship binding the two countries.

He said his Cairo mission is part of direct contacts being held between the leaders of friendly countries with a view to consolidating the ties of friendship between the Congo and those countries.

He said that from Cairo he would proceed to Tanzania and Uganda on a similar mission. — MEN

...of the foreign exchange budget. The meetings will also consider the effect of sterling devaluation in relation to the standing trade and payments agreements, particularly with regard to exports of agricultural and industrial goods to certain countries which trade with sterling.

The Minister will submit a report on the outcome of such studies to the Planning Committee immediately the foreign currency budget statement has been given the final touches. —MEN

...buted the decorations presented by President Gamal Abdul Nasser to firemen and officers of the Armed Forces in recognition of their outstanding efforts in fighting the Suez fires.

Appreciation

Addressing the officers and men, he said, «I am pleased to meet you on such an occasion and to be able to appreciate the efforts you exerted in the crucial and difficult circumstances which face us in this decisive stage of our history.» — MEN

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15.30 Varieties
16.00 Open programme
18.15 News
18.30 Open programme
22.00 News
22.15 Week's Events
22.30 Continuation of the open programme
23.30 Koran
23.45 Close down.

SECOND PROGRAMME (CHANNEL 7)

18.00 Opening and educational programme
20.00 News
20.15 Programme Review
20.17 German documentary film — The Piano
20.30 Peyton Place — serial
21.00 Czechoslovak film — Black Monday
22.15 The Saint — serial
23.00 Close down.

THIRD PROGRAMME (CHANNEL 9)

19.00 Opening and news in French
19.15 Play — serial
20.05 German documentary film — A Winter day in Theringiam Forest
20.30 News in French
20.45 Boston Symphony
21.15 Foreign serial
22.15 Close down.

FOURTH PROGRAMME (ASSIUT)

19.00 Opening with God's Book
19.14 Song
19.21 Week-end
19.53 Foreign serial
20.41 Light upon light
21.34 Arabic film
23.00 Close down.

FIFTH PROGRAMME (ASWAN)

18.00 Opening and Koran
18.10 Week-end
18.36 Foreign serial
19.00 Play — serial
19.54 Song
19.58 Light upon Light
20.49 Arabic film
23.00 Close down.

ENEMY MUST WITHDRAW,

(Cont. from page 2)

west of the Canal. The cities were vulnerable and we did not have aircraft with which to face the enemy had he wanted to attack our cities. In spite of the disaster which befell the Air Force on June 5, our Air Force officers — despite the superiority of the enemy — flew their remaining aircraft and faced the enemy. For them it was a suicidal battle.

40 OFFICERS

"They engaged enemy aircraft and shot down a number of them. We lost forty airforce officers, some of them killed and the others missing. They did their duty as best as they could. Their command, the command of the airforce had not calculated the situation properly and was responsible for the catastrophe that happened to the airforce on the morning of June 5, and consequently caused the battle to end the way it ended.

"In spite of all that happened we managed to face the facts, within a few days. From the very first day, we started to organise our defences and were determined to fight every inch of the way.

"When the enemy tried to advance to Port Fuad at the end of June, we did not leave the enemy. We engaged the enemy in Ras el Esh. Our armed forces countered the enemy and we accepted the risk. The Air force, at that time had not yet regained its normal power.

"The enemy was capable of shooting down planes, but we accepted the risk. This shows the change that had taken place by then.

"Let us realise this without self-deception, for self-deception at the moment could cause a complete catastrophe without any hope afterwards.

"We neither deceived ourselves nor allowed others to deceive us. We did not deceive the people and shall never do that. We were able to absorb all the problems stemming from the matters I am talking to you about. We have been able to recover from the shock, and from the psychological pressure which made each of us feel as if he were in a nightmare, unable to believe the authenticity of the events.

EFFECTS

"To verify circumstances of our situation with all its facts was not an easy job. The difficult part of these matters and problems is over, but I know that its effects will remain with us for a long time of course. What do I mean by that ? Confidence may have been shaken to a great extent. The hearts and souls of many people, especially the young were shattered, especially when they saw Israel occupying a part of our territories, and its forces on the Eastern bank of the Suez Canal.

"I have seen a number of torn youth, unable to bear the idea that Israel exists and that it had reached the Eastern side of the Suez Canal. This is what I mean when I say that the difficult part has ended, but that the effects of this difficult part will remain with us for a long time.

FATIGUE

"In certain cases, I find some people get fed up when they look at certain affairs with mistrust or criticism. Naturally, there is anxiety among the people as a result of what happened. People are anxious to know how we are going to get through it. Such a state of affairs creates psychological fatigue for everybody, including the leadership, the people and the youth.

"In all circumstances, we must appreciate the psychological state of the people, the leadership, when they demonstrate their anxiety as well as their psychological fatigue. I regard it as a mi-

confidence to all the people.

"I went through some of the letters received during the past period. I always quote these letters in addressing the people.

"I have noticed no despair in the past few months... no signs of despair. There may be hatred, wrath... people are angry. There is also a high level of criticism... criticism of the others in factories, organisations and various units and departments.

"The major part of these letters of complaints and criticism are unsigned. Someone who does not like something or is at odds with someone writes against him. I cannot take action in such cases without inquiries.

"I avail myself of this opportunity today and say that to put the blame on others means that we cannot confront the setback as men should. Everyone in his own place is responsible. Everyone should exercise self-criticism and try to correct his own errors.

JUDGMENT

"When I say that each one of us is responsible in his own position for the circumstances which led to the setback, I also said that I was fully responsible for everything. I shall go on shouldering the whole responsibility, and I accept judgment to be passed on me by the people, whatever that judgment may be.

"We should pursue our path like men should. And then we can be sure that our confidence in ourselves will grow with the passage of time.

"You all remember the stand taken by the people on June 9 and 10 and their determination to reject my decision for resignation. I said in my address to your honourable Assembly that the voice of our people was for me an irrefutable command. Thus I decided on staying in my position and in the position where the people wanted me to stay until the termination of that period necessary to liquidate the traces of aggression. After that period the whole question would be decided by the people through a general referendum.

"Today, I say — after the absorption of all that happened, after the acceptance of responsibility by all of us with the dignity of men — that there must be faith in the ability to go through it.

"This means that we should gather ourselves and that we should emerge from the stage of emotion to the stage of action. Of course, everyone of us had the right to emotion on June 8, 9, 10, 11, even afterwards. But what does emotion do for us ? Emotion only makes us continually unable to make the correct decision.

"I say that and I was like any one of the people of this country. I entered into the stage of emotion: the speech on June 9 to you was emotional the speech on June 10 to you was emotional; what happened on June 11 was also emotional.

"Certain changes which occurred in the Armed Forces on June 11 came as a result of excitement. However, after this date, we started to work to control ourselves, and to put an end to excitement in order to be able to pass through that stage. To go through such a stage, we should control ourselves, get out of the state of excitement to the stage of action, the stage of thinking, planning, execution, and continuous examination of every line. At the present stage, at this time, we are in circumstances that cannot tolerate your final decision.

ARMED FORCES

"The second part was that action had to be started with the Armed Forces. As you know I took a decision changing all the Armed Forces commands and the process of reorganising the Armed Forces got under way.

"This was a most difficult pro-

decree appointing the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces and accepting the resignation of the commands which existed then.

"At that time, I believed I could not afford a compromise solution on that subject; any compromise could repeat the tragedy over again. It was imperative that we should not follow any compromise or part solutions in the Armed Forces. The question, moreover, was not simply a change of commands, but was rather a question of farther and deeper change.

"On this ground, certain elements had to be removed, elements which had taken advantage of the political situation of the Armed Forces and thus secured for themselves positions of strength. Other elements had made of themselves an insulation-layer over the face of the Armed Forces, and these too had to be removed. Finally, the elements which had shown inefficiency through the experience of the preparations had to be eliminated.

COURAGE

"I eliminated all the elements that through the experience of the battlefield did not live up to the responsibility of the battlefield. In view of the setback and in its midst, we were rebuilding the Armed Forces. Honestly speaking, this task, in itself, was not difficult, if we set aside the difficulties created by the circumstances. The important thing is that this task was made possible thanks to the belief of the men, non-commissioned officers and officers, thanks to their understanding and awareness.

"The mistakes made in the conduct of battle was greater than the courage of these men. But they sacrificed themselves, heroes distinguished themselves from

ple. We demanded that this should be changed, and have actually started to look into the matter in each Ministry.

PRIVILEGE

"We asked the Ministers — in connection with the regulations and the public sector in particular — to simplify matters for the people, to relieve the people of past and present burdens.

"We demanded at the Council of Ministers an end to privileges. We considered the matter in connection with the (Government) cars and the flats which were rented from the sequestration departments. We said that those flats were taken as privileges because they were given for low rents, and that these flats must be reconsidered. As regards combination of salary and pension, we said that this was a privilege and the combination of salary and pension must be reconsidered.

"We demanded equality of sacrifice; we demanded judgment and punishment; we demanded revolutionary purity.

"We demanded further democracy. We demanded all these things and stepped out in that direction. I do not say we have achieved everything, but I say we have taken steps in this direction. Many money allowances were abolished or reduced; privileges were also abolished, or studies are being made for their reduction.

"Taxes have been raised in relation to the higher income brackets.

"As regards what is now being said, I say the law on illicit gains should be applied so that we may know the possessions of those who have worked since 1952, from the President of the Republic downwards. What makes me say this ? Naturally we are under the influence of a psychological campaign of which I will talk a while

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ASSEMBLYMEN give President Gamal Abdul Nasser a standing ovation on his
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the Feudalism Liquidation Committee doing the same thing.

"What we see today is a continuation of what used to be before the month of June. The new thing is the great sensitivity. The people think that we are retreating. However, we are not retreatin. We study the petitions. If we find injustice, we remove it.

"Other letters ask why we look into petitions sent by a number of persons dismissed as a result of deviation in the public sector? We studied the case of every person who was dismissed. We formed a special committee under the chairmanship of the Minister of Justice to study the petitions sent by such persons. In other words, we gave unto Caesar what was Caesar's.

"Some people sent me letters asking that the dismissed persons be re-employed lest they try to revenge themselves. Such a suggestion might be reasonable. However, we have to give unto Caesar what is Caesar's and we have to remove any injustice. That is as regards the sequestration affair.

DETAINEES

"Now for detainees. We detained a number of the Moslem Brothers following the uncovering of their terroristic plans two years ago. Of course, there was no question of our detaining those people for ever. The case of the detainees had to be reviewed. Actually, reports relating to the release of the detainees had already been made prior to the setback.

"Naturally the circumstances which we were dragged into all this is to confuse, and to shake confidence.

"Today, there is a President of the Republic who is Gamal Abdul Nasser. There are also Vice-Presidents, Ministers and a Socialist Union. We should also pursue one policy. Whoever disagrees with this policy may quit; for this is the natural situation.

"I would like to say today that there are no centres of power, nor power groupings, and this makes it all easy. I said this because of the articles that appeared in the press. I said that after the setback the people wanted to speak and that whoever wanted to speak may do so. Whoever had a definite opinion and whoever wanted to express an adverse opinion did so. No harm was done. No collapse, nor division took place,. We were exposed to criticism like no other regime. No regime had ever criticised itself on such wide a scale and in no Western country, that faced similar circumstances, was there ever such criticism. We considered that a healthy sign.

INTELLIGENCE

"There is something else; the deviations which took place in the intelligence service. We did not leave these deviations unaccounted for. Those who took part in these deviations have been arrested and will stand trial before the Revolution Tribunal. Some people blame these deviations on the regime. I should like to say that such deviations take place in many parts of the world. What is essential is that we should check these deviations. The deviations in this service are, as you might have heard, mostly cheap deviations. This is not the occasion to talk

ranks forced me to give up that point for some time. It was due to the possible tragedies to which the country had been exposed that we had given up thinking of the Central Committee.

"At that time we said that the formation of the Central Committee would be through either appointment or through a national congress. If through appointment, this would mean the appointment of a Committee made up of groups. Thus the demand was to form the Committee through election, and election meant a national congress. Thus the basis was widened and about two thousand new elements were added to the members of the Arab Socialist Union executive offices.

"I still believe in the promotion of political action in the Socialist Union, the holding of a national congress of national congress in the governorates, the convening of a national congress, then attaining a Central Committee with expanding the leadership.

"I spoke on July 23 and spoke of new leaders. Letters then came to me asking why I do not appoint new leaders as I appoint Ministers. It is not easy to choose new leaders and appoint them in so short a time. First, I must be able to deal with the Minister before I appoint him; I should be able to trust him one hundred per cent. New leaders take long before they attain leadership. We also take time before we come to know them closely.

TAKE-OVER PLAN

"The fourth point I want to speak about is the attempt to take over the Armed Forces Command by force.

"I request the honourable Assembly to realise that this subject is fraught with emotions which are unpleasant for me. Man, before anything and after anything else, is man. In the course of this attmept, I lost the dearest and closest of all people to me, but there was the sign of dissension on the horizon.

"I was supposed to take any decisive resolution on those points relating to the subject, but I refused to speak or to say anything despite the fact that many of you heard a great deal said about that attempt. When the affair was driven, however, to the extent of touching on the whole Armed Forces and to the threat of civil war and division, then I was forced to take a decision.

"There had been some adventurists who were concerned over nothing but their own interests and privileges, and they tried to defend these by adopting any method, and this way they misled others.

"I consider that the foiling of the attempt to bring about a division in the ranks of the Armed Forces was a significant process which had cleared a dangerous mine from the soil of national action, a mine which threatened a serious explosion that could have led to grave, incalculable consequences.

"I had to take that decision despite the many contradictory factors which beset it; and I have taken my decision on August 25, when I was told and informed of the whole affair.

"Some army officers came over and told me about the whole affair which was being meditated. At that time, the Intelligence Service was being liquidated, because it had come to be a deviating machinery.

"It was thus imperative to take a decision, and keep up my decision regardless of the emotional circumstances, for the country had to be saved. Thanks to God that have been able to save the country, despite all emotional

by hunger. The agreement of solidarity produced a positive result.

"The sixth point is the development of production capacity. Production efforts were made under the circumstances of the battle. The investments which went into industry gave returns. Some of the 800 factories might not be functioning at full capacity nowadays, but they give us output which helps us to dispense with foreign imports. Our oil production increased in spite of the losses in the Sinai oil wells. The output of Murgan oilfield has reached 100,000 barrels daily. Power has been generated from the High Dam and we lived a great event.

HIGH DAM

"This great event is that the High Dam has started to produce electricity. The turbines are operating and electricity has reached Cairo and Lower Egypt. As for agriculture, you all know that the crops this year were all good. The harvest of the traditional crop, cotton, was 8,800,000 kantars, despite the fact that the cotton cultivated areas this year were 233,000 feddans less than last year. An increase of half a kantar per feddan was recorded this year.

"Moreover, we did without L.E. 5.5 million of antisecticides. An increase was also recorded in the rice and maize crops. The crops increased despite the economic pressure. God did not leave us alone but helped us to produce good crops. Those who imagined that an economic blockade would affect us, now realise that we can hold out for years under circumstances of economic blockade and nevertheless emerge stronger and firmer.

"At present we have foreign currency reserves. The value of the Egyptian pound was not affected by the devaluation of sterling. The value of the Egyptian pound abroad is rising.

"Those who did not face what we had to face are suffering even more. Take England for example and the economic crisis there. I do not have to tell you since you have read all about it in the papers. Take also the crisis in America. This too has been reported by the press.

"Today we are directing the economy so that it may become a war economy able to bear the brunt of a long-drawn-out battle. This is the basis of our action now on the economic front for if we want to hold out, we have to have a war economy capable of enduring a long battle. For our enemy is using all weapons against us, including the weapon of economic pressure.

"The seventh point in our review relates to our international mobility. Some people thought that we would be isolated from the rest of the world, but this did not happen.

FRIENDS

"Each day we worked to enlarge our circle of friends and narrow our circle of foes, narrowing it down to one definite focus. I believe that this movement for making friends all over the world is necessary. We cannot overcome our problems without action, and there is nothing to prevent us from acting.

"Our old friendship proved its value. Hence the role of the Soviet Union as a supporter for us in the crisis, as we saw right from the beginning of the war, and after the war. The Soviets helped to compensate us for the equipment we lost. In addition they helped us in economic and political affairs.

"When Aly Sabry went to Moscow, he had a long meeting with Brezhnev, and Brezhnev expressed the support of the Soviet Union for the UAR, and said that

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cal pressure which made each of us feel as if he were in a nightmare, unable to believe the authenticity of the events.

EFFECTS

"To verify circumstances of our situation with all its facts was not an easy job. The difficult part of these matters and problems is over, but I know that its effects will remain with us for a long time of course. What do I mean by that ? Confidence may have been shaken to a great extent. The hearts and souls of many people, especially the young were shattered, especially when they saw Israel occupying a part of our territories, and its forces on the Eastern bank of the Suez Canal.

"I have seen a number of torn youth, unable to bear the idea that Israel exists and that it had reached the Eastern side of the Suez Canal. This is what I mean when I say that the difficult part has ended, but that the effects of this difficult part will remain with us for a long time.

FATIGUE

"In certain cases, I find some people get fed up when they look at certain affairs with mistrust or criticism. Naturally, there is anxiety among the people as a result of what happened. People are anxious to know how we are going to get through it. Such a state of affairs creates psychological fatigue for everybody, including the leadership, the people and the youth.

"In all circumstances, we must appreciate the psychological state of the people, the leadership, when they demonstrate their anxiety as well as their psychological fatigue. I regard it as a miracle that people believe in anything after what happened during the six days. The people have absorbed the shock. Through its deeprootedness and long period of struggle, the people have been able to overcome the psychological shock. This absorption, however, does not mean that the link is cut between what happened before and during the shock.

"We have to understand that there are some sediments, that we have passed through a big test, and that confidence will equal what our behaviour deserves, and with how the people get used to it.

"To absorb the setback means that we should all accept it as men. Of course, when I explain and talk on the shock, when I talk of the psychological worry when I talk on the bruise in the soul and heart of the youth of this generation, when I talk on the necessity of psychological treatment for all these manifestations, when I say that what happened on June 5 and the six days cannot be eliminated quicky, I must say that we should all accept the consequences of the setback as men.

"What is meant by 'as men' ? It means that one should not call the other to account.

CRITICISM

"As a matter of fact, there was a wave of criticism, after the setback of the six days. In my speech of July 23, I referred to this wave as a natural situation, but if this changes into a wave of casting doubts on everything, this means that we did not take the setback as men.

"If each one in each factory calls the other to account, if everyone holds another one responsible, it means that we did not absorb the setback as men. Each one, according to one's interpretation of the setback, is responsible for the circumstances that led to the setback.

"On June 9, I held myself responsible for everything. This does not mean that I am not responsible today. I take full responsibility, but I cannot change everything in this country single-handed. If everybody calls another to account, and does not call himself to account, it means that we are being led along paths which might have been set for us by our enemies.

"Each one should criticise himself before criticising anyone else. Everyone is responsible. Everyone should help in winning the battle of the will, by giving self-

ASSEMBLYMEN give President Gamal Abdul Nasser a standing ovation on his a the opening of the new parliamentary session.

scription of all that happened, after the acceptance of responsibility by all of us with the dignity of men — that there must be faith in the ability to go through it.

"This means that we should gather ourselves and that we should emerge from the stage of emotion to the stage of action. Of course, everyone of us had the right to emotion on June 8, 9, 10, 11, even afterwards. But what does emotion do for us ? Emotion only makes us continually unable to make the correct decision.

"I say that and I was like any one of the people of this country. I entered into the stage of emotion : the speech on June 9 to you was emotional the speech on June 10 to you was emotional; what happened on June 11 was also emotional.

"Certain changes which occurred in the Armed Forces on June 11 came as a result of excitement. However, after this date, we started to work to control ourselves, and to put an end to excitement in order to be able to pass through that stage. To go through such a stage, we should control ourselves, get out of the state of excitement to the stage of action, the stage of thinking, planning, execution, and continuous examination of every line. At the present stage, at this time, we are in circumstances that cannot tolerate your final decision.

ARMED FORCES

"The second part was that action had to be started with the Armed Forces. As you know I took a decision changing all the Armed Forces commands and the process of reorganising the Armed Forces got under way.

"This was a most difficult process under circumstances which were difficult beyond imagination.

"The question was not merely a change of commands. The change in the Armed Forces was much further and more profound. There existed some elements which wanted to make of the political position of the Armed Forces a position of strength. There existed some elements which set themselves up as an insulating class over the Armed Forces. Circumstances permitted them to do so, and we must place these circumstances in their accurate historical framework.

"We do not forget that the Armed Forces provided an instrument for the achievement of the people's revolution, which role is not easy, and it produced results. The simplest of these results was the possible appearance of such a class.

"Naturally while I say this people, and probably you also, would enquire : 'How did you, Gamal Abdul Nasser, leave conditions deteriorate to such an extent before the setback' ?

DIFFERENT WILLS

"There are some people in this country who imagine that when President Gamal Abdul Nasser says something it should be carried out immediately. The people have no idea of what is going on behind the scenes. There are always conflicts and disputes because there are positions of strength and different wills.

"We tried to overcome this difficulty by setting up a presidential council. But we could not overcome it and, in most cases, compromise solutions were found to be the most suitable solutions to ward off clashes of grave consequences.

"I was confronted with a problem on June 9 and 10. I announced on June 9 my decision to step down. I might have been selfish in this. But on my return on June 10, I was determined not to accept middle-road solutions and that I would confront all problems in the way I think is the right and sound way so as to avoid a recurrence of the setback.

JUNE 11

"This, however, did not relieve me ; it rather involved me in endless problems. The first problem I had to face was on June 11. You do not know what happened on June 11 On that day some problems occurred in the Armed Forces resulting from my and officers, thanks to their understanding and awareness.

"The mistakes made in the conduct of battle was greater than the courage of these men. But they sacrificed themselves, heroes distinguished themselves from among them, and martyrs fell in battle.

"There are certain persons who acted irresponsibly, but no unit left its position without orders.

"It was obvious that the Command was confused immediately after the beginning of the battle, and after receiving the first blow that was directed at the Air Force, and the results following it.

"God knows that this strike was not a surprise and that it could have been countered. But this is no longer subject for discussion, unless in so much as benefiting from it and bringing to account those responsible for it. This account is now being conducted.

"The important thing is that the men, when given the chance to fight, fought like men. This is to be proved by the quick response to the process of rebuilding the Armed Forces, which at once enabled consolidation of the line of resistance. Experience proved that it is the men and not the weapons that is the important factor. It is not a matter of storing weapons, but the ability to use these weapons.

TRAINING

"The training, preparation, and action currently under way in the Armed Forces deserves the admiration and appreciation of the nation. It will have its practical value when an opportunity to test it presents itself. It is an incredible effort almost exceeding the capacity of man. The servicemen, officers, big and small, are working full time for training on the use of arms.

"The third point is that while making a sound start on rebuilding the amy, we have also started to take a general look at our internal situation. I wish to say that we should realise that we cannot achieve everything at once, especially in our circumstances.

"In July, I spoke about the necessity for change. Great changes have taken place in accordance with the demands of the people everywhere. I am on the side of the people in demanding this change and this I made clear in my speech of July 23. We demanded serious and decisive action and started to bring this about in all spheres with regard to the ministeries. We demanded serious and decisive action at the Council of Ministers to remove the causes of the people's complaints and the rules and statutes that posed problems to the peo-

should be applied so that we may know the possessions of those who have worked since 1952, from the President of the Republic downwards. What makes me say this ? Naturally we are under the influence of a psychological campaign of which I will talk a while later... a campaign of doubt, and so on. Let us place all these things in their true perspective, set up a committee representing the executive and the legislative powers, and get down to work The law provides for declarations to be made out by individuals, which will then be given consideration. Steps have already been taken, and other steps could follow.

"The question of sequestration has been misunderstood When we said sequestration would be lifted, people thought desequestrated people would restore all their property. The truth is different from this. The question is that sequestrations had been imposed prior to 1964. In March of that year we settled those sequestrations. We said every case should be liquidated; property should revert to the State and State bonds given in return up to L.E. 30.000 worth.

CLASS

"Class distinctions of the persons concerned were thus liquidated with each getting up to L.E. 30,000 in State bonds. Why then should such a person have been placed under sequestration ? We are not supposed to be wreaking personal vengeance on him, but rather to be liquidating class distinctions. Once this process is accomplished, there is no reason why such a person should continue under sequestration. What I say is that it is a human duty that such people should be freed of sequestration but not get back their property for they have already obtained State bonds up to a value of L.E. 30,000 with 4 per cent interest, which process was done in 1964.

"As regards the people placed under sequestration after 1964, who have been dealt with by the Feudalism Liquidation Board, a committee has been set up under Kamal Rifaat to consider their complaints.

UNTO CAESAR

"Some of the letters I saw asked why we had been examining petitions. In the past, we always looked into petitions. However, there was no excitement. Now, and before the month of June, we looked into petitions concerning the Feudalism Liquidation Committee There was a committee headed by El Sayed Kamal el Din Rifaat (Minister of Labour) entrusted with studying such petitions. Besides, there was also a sub committee stemming from

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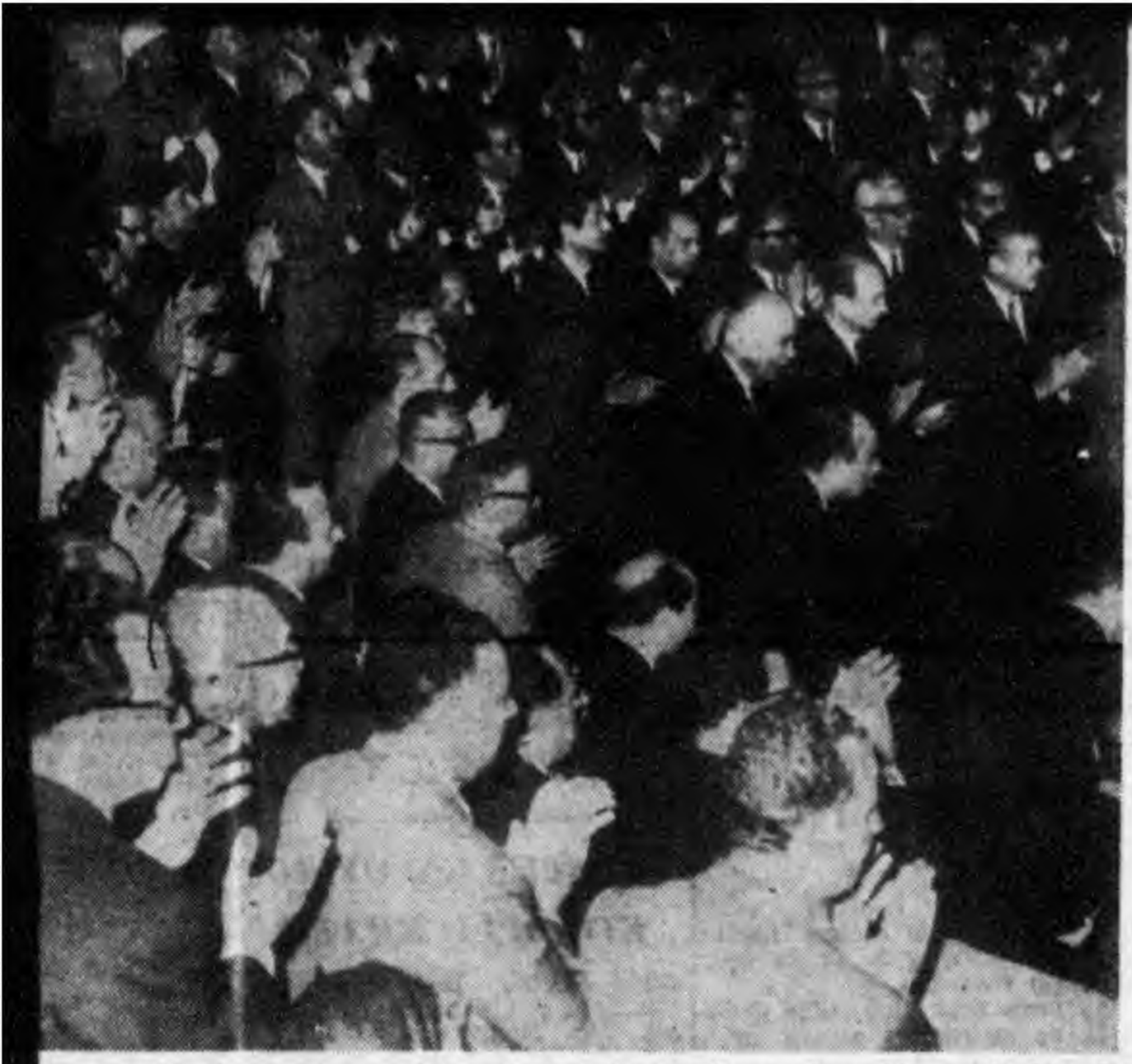

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made us stop thinking of the question of release. It was impossible, following the setback, to release any detainees. I feel, however, that our domestic position allows us to release a large number of them now. Only those who were members of armed clandestine organisations will remain under detention, and those are convicts. In 1964 I passed a decree of pardon for those detainees and further issued a law for their rehabilitation in their posts.

"After the Pardon of 1964, the preparations for terrorist operations began, and thus we started to arrest all the members of the armed terrorist organisations. Those were people who were already arrested but then released, and here in the National Assembly you took a resolution in that connection.

"We are now beginning to release these people gradually; but their number is not as large as believed; they are less than 1000 persons.

NO HARM

"The question of political isolation was also decided at the time of the preparatory committee of 1962. It is impossible to isolate people politically for ever. Political isolation imposed on a great number of people was lifted.

"Today we must consider lifting political isolation imposed on many other people. There is no harm in lifting political isolation on these people.

"I think that all these steps were taken to achieve large-scale democratic action

"There were free discussions in the newspapers without any interference. Of course there is military censorship, which we consider necessary. But we also consider free ideas expresed to be necessary There was also criticism, which we consider as a healthy sign, of which we were not afraid.

"Again some people sent me letters, blaming me for leaving these press controversies on the ground that they showed that there was a division in public opinion.

UNITY

"Some people said that two viewpoints existed; one expressed by Aly Sabry and the other by Zakaria Mohieddin. Such reports were circulated by foreign magazines; that we had a left and a right wing.

"I wish to tell you that we have unity of leadership. All the talk about such wings bears no relation to the truth. What is the right and what is the left. This is a relative question I have read reports questioning who ruled Egypt and whether it was Zakaria Mohieddin or Aly Sabry. I am telling you that the purpose of service are, as you might have heard, mostly cheap deviations. This is not the occasion to talk about these deviations.

"Similar cases took place in many parts of the world. I also received letters wondering how the President was kept in the dark as to what was going on. I say this is a chance to reply to all these inquiries. You might as well have raised such enquiries among yourselves.

"The intelligence is supposed to report to me on deviations in the country. It would have been ridiculous to establish an intelligence to report on the intelligence and establish another intelligence to report on the former... But I say that what took place was owing to the hankering after power and the trend to create a group which in future would be able to have the upper hand. This group deviated and failed to reach power.

OPEN SOCIETY

"To tell you frankly, I saw some aspects of deviation before June 5, but I never imagined its extent, I did my best to find out the truth about it. I succeeded sometimes, but I failed to see all the truth in certain cases. I actually pitted the country against the grouping of powers and the centres of power. During the presidential elections, and afterwards, I talked to you about it. One day, I came here and asked whether we should form one or two parties. I placed before you a selection of questions. I was talking about democracy and more democracy. I said that this was the only way to combat the deviation. From previous experience, I found that the people get afraid of bringing up anything either in the National Assembly or in the press. We don't care about the deviation of a person unless his story is debated in the National Assembly or by the press. This is why I once told you that we need an open society. With regard to the Intelligence Service and its staff, mistakes were acceptable. There existed an Intelligence Service State which penetrated and which deviated. I consider that this State has fallen, and I consider that this fall is very important. I regard it as the most important passive aspect of which we have got rid in a bid to purge public life in Egypt.

A.S.U.

"There is only one point which I had promised in July but which has not been fulfilled so far. That was the formation of the ASU Central Committee. I hope I am excused, but the fact is that the particular conditions which prevailed among the Armed Forces and the fear that some division might be nourished within their

decisive resolution on those points relating to the subject, but I refused to speak or to say anything despite the fact that many of you heard a great deal said about that attempt. When the affair was driven, however, to the extent of touching on the whole Armed Forces and to the threat of civil war and division, then I was forced to take a decision.

"There had been some adventurists who were concerned over nothing but their own interests and privileges, and they tried to defend these by adopting any method, and this way they misled others.

"I consider that the foiling of the attempt to bring about a division in the ranks of the Armed Forces was a significant process which had cleared a dangerous mine from the soil of national action, a mine which threatened a serious explosion that could have led to grave, incalculable consequences.

"I had to take that decision despite the many contradictory factors which beset it; and I have taken my decision on August 25, when I was told and informed of the whole affair.

"Some army officers came over and told me about the whole affair which was being meditated. At that time, the Intelligence Service was being liquidated, because it had come to be a deviating machinery.

"It was thus imperative to take a decision, and keep up my decision regardless of the emotional circumstances, for the country had to be saved. Thanks to God that have been able to save the country, despite all emotional considerations, from setbacks and from the mines.

KHARTUM SUMMIT

"The fifth point in the review concerns Arab action and its achievements. The battle involves all the Arab forces. Contacts were made.

"You all know the story at the outset with the forces which took an active part in the battle. But we believed that we must work so that all might enter into the battle and participate in it according to their means, and this was achieved on a large scale in Khartum.

"In Khartum, we agreed on principles: no conciliation with Israel; no negotiation with Israel; no recognition of Israel; no abandonment of the Palestine question.

"In Khartum, we managed in agreement with King Feisal, of Saudi Arabia, to come to terms on the Yemen question.

"Our aim in this was to fulfil principles, we were not concerned with individuals. We went to the Yemen to make the principles triumph, not for the triumph of individuals. We have helped South Arabia to eradicate imperialism in South Arabia.

"There is now a national regime in Sanaa without Egyptian forces in Sanaa. There is a Republic in Sanaa without Egyptian forces in Sanaa.

"The British are now withdrawing from South Arabia, from the Occupied South, from Aden. The nationalists will take over.

"Of course, we wished that there would be an agreement between the nationalists in South Arabia and all the national elements so that they could overcome the difficulties. With the withdrawal of the British, the minor struggle came to an end and the major struggle began. The matter was not easy, but we tried to succeed by all means.

ECONOMIC WAR

"In Khartum We reached agreement of solidarity whereby we obtained £95 million which, unfortunately, dropped these days by 14 per cent with the devaluation of the pound sterling.

"The enemy pinned high hopes on blocking us economically. They calculated that by next December or January we would suffer famine as a result of the continuation of the closure of the Suez Canal and the fall in the oil revenues. Perhaps it was the fear that this might take place which prompted us to have wheat in stock for the longest possible period. We felt that our enemies would try to make us surrender

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"Today we are directing the economy so that it may become a war economy able to bear the brunt of a long-drawn-out battle. This is the basis of our action now on the economic front for if we want to hold out, we have to have a war economy capable of enduring a long battle For our enemy is using all weapons against us, including the weapon of economic pressure.

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FRIENDS

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"When Aly Sabry went to Moscow, he had a long meeting with Brezhnev, and Brezhnev expressed the support of the Soviet Union for the UAR, and said that the Soviet Union would help the UAR consolidate her armed forces.

"We must also mention the role of India, which helped us in all ways, inspite of the American pressure to which India was subjected in the United Nations.

"Yugoslavia too supported us. President Tito visited us and visited Syria and Iraq. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, also visited us.

«The Asian and African countries also supported us. There is the Afro-Asian draft resolution at the U.N. submitted by India, Mali and Nigeria and supported by Ethiopia. Then there is the attitude of the Islamic countries and especially of Pakistan as regards the issue of Jerusalem, and the draft resolution submitted by Pakistan and supported by a majority of the votes at the U.N.

DE GAULLE

"Then there is the role of France and of General de Gaulle and their stand against the aggression as represented in the ban on arms shipments to Israel. De Gaulle knows very well that all the Arab nations, indeed the whole world, recall the role he played when France was subjected to aggression during World War II, and know that he is a man of principles. In fact, and despite all the pressures he was exposed to, de Gaulle stood by our side, on the side of principles.

"Our stand at the U.N. has been based on the necessity for dynamic action to prevent Israel from convincing the world that she is a peaceful country when in fact she is the aggressor. Israel is always trying to represent herself to the world as a peaceful nation of only two and half million people amidst a hundred million Arabs who seek to stamp out and annihilate Israel. Israel is always claiming that the Arabs are preparing for aggression. Before June 5, Israel had convinced the whole world that she was the small, weak nation threatened by aggression.

"Had we left Israel to speak of peace, then she could have gone on misleading and deceiving the whole world with the claim that she was the peaceful country while the Arabs were the aggressive people who wanted no peace, but rather wanted war for the sake of war.

"Of course we had to exert efforts at the U.N. in order to expose such tricks by Israel. I believe that we have succeeded in this, as is evidenced in the world press

(Cont. on page 5)

No Israeli shipping through Sue

(Cont. from page 4)

"The West started to understand the truth about Israel, especially after statements by Israeli leaders and by Eshkol. This was so even in Britain, with whom we had broken off diplomatic relations.

"One day I received a letter from George Brown, in which he asked how long relations between the UAR and Britain would be severed and he suggested talks for the restoration of relations.

«Brown's speech at the United Nations was encouraging, for he stood by what was right. Then after the British attitude to the South became clear after their departure from the Arab South and the establishment of a national state There and after Britain's rejection of Isral's attempt to annex Jerusalem, we had to respond to their call for the restoration of political and diplomatic relations.

"We have not been isolated from other countries. We contacted the African and Arab states that broke off relations with Britain before restoring our relations with Britain. We have acted and we must go on acting because we are involved in an all-out battle which covers the whole world. We cannot leave circumstances to encircle and besiege us. We have to reverse the current and use it to our advantage in order to isolate our enemy instead of letting ourselves be isolated.

This applies even to the United States, in spite of our feelings of bitterness at her attitude of constant support for Israel in the United Nations, her supply to Israel of arms, her financial aid and her alliance with Israel as the Israeli leaders maintain in their statements. But despite the U.S. attitude towards us we must realise that this is a battle of destiny, and that we cannot fight this battle with anger only.

So Riad met Rusk, the Foreign Secretary of America and Goldberg, the U.S. representative at the U.N. They lifted the ban on the travel of American citizens to the UAR and we issued a statement welcoming this step.

"Our battle in the world is not an easy battle. We cannot stay stagnant, We refuse any restraint on our freedom of action except for the restraints imposed by our principles, and that we cannot give up whetever the price. Had we been ready to give up our principles, there would have been no battle So except for that which is contrary to our principles, we are prepared to move in all directions So now we find that in this current situation we are moving in all fields.

ONLY FORCE

"We are more active in one field than others these days namely the political field. I wish to be plain with you and with the Arab people as a whole. There is a fundamental principle I believe in, in which my faith has not changed. That which has been usurped by force can only be restored by force. (Applause)

"Your applause reminds me of a letter I read three days ago. The sender told me that I would seem to be afraid for it had been noticed that I did not talk as I had done before. The question is not one of fear. I tell the fellow who sent the letter that I am not afraid. The question is not a personal affair so that I should feel afraid. Had it been a personal taken, but to achieve victory There is no alternative to victory. The absence of victory will mean the absence of life. a situation more serious than sheer defeat. Preparations for offensive military action after the completion of defensive military action need time and effort. I say this with frankness from a position of responsibility at this time when we are completing our military preparedness.

"We do not hesitate to try political action nor do we abject to such an experiment but rather welcome it. For war is not an aim in itself. Our aim is the liberation of our land, the restoration of usurped rights. We wish the whole world to know we are not warmongers. Rather we are soldiers where war is a necessity. We are preparing for it and for all its possibilities. But if, during the period when our military preparedness is being perfected, political actions is able to safeguard our principles, to liberate our territories and to restore our lost rights, then we do not reject political action. We will not be meeting our international responsibilities if we did reject such action, for if we do we will find nobody siding with us."

All our friends are siding with us, not because of the war in itself, but rather for the principle, the land and the right. If political action should fail to safeguard these things, then our friends and even the whole world will appreciate our attitude in resorting to armed force. Their attitude, however, would not be restricted to appreciation but rather support.

PRINCIPLE

All will side with us without any hesitation knowing that our principle, the battle of every land, the battle of rightousness. If political action should fail to satisfy our goals, then we will have lost nothing. We will have completed our might thus becoming certain of its effectiveness. Meanwhile, we will have been able to find the greatest support for our legal war. This is what I can see clearly and briefly. I hope that this honourable Assembly will also see it with me. As for myself, I will not take any step unless I am sure of the next step. We have to learn from experience. We are not ready to take lessons from those who talk about the immediate war even through they did not fight and they do not intend to fight.

"The attempts at political action which have so far taken place at the Security Council occurred while fighting still going on. The ceasefire decision was taken by Security Council Under American pressure. the Security Council for the first time in its history failed to couple the ceasefire decision with another calling for the return of the fighting forces to the positions they had held before the battle. We all know the story.

USSR

The Soviet Union, afterwards called for an extra-ordinary session of the United Nations General Assembly. President Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, Premier Kosygin of the Soviet Union, and a number of Heads of State attended. As a matter of fact neither we nor our friends attached much hope to this session, so far as the removal of the consequences of the aggression is concerned. The most important thing at this session was to awaken world public opinion and wake up the international society. The wide discussions resulted in a great reconcile the basic points in the Afro-Asian draft and in the other drafts. In our view this British draft is not adequate for finding a sound solution to the problem.

«The Soviet draft was reasonable and balanced. The Soviet Union did well to submit this resolution because it served at least as a means of pressure for the interpretation of the British draft adopted by the Security Council.

INADEQUATE

«Though India, the Soviet Union and France gave explanations of the British draft, on the basis of which the draft was put to the vote. this British draft is, in our view, inadequate.

«Once again I reiterate that we cannot obtain any guarantees except through our preparedness to bear arms. Oratory is of no avail and all formulations are liable to melt away under fire.

«The question is: Are we capable of mastering the use of armed action or not ?

«We shall study the Security Council resolution and discuss it with our friends. There are two points over which we shall not allow any bargaining.

WITHDRAWAL

«The first point is complete withdrawal from all Arab territories from every inch of the Arab territories which were captured in the June battles. whether in the UAR, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, or the Arab Republic of Syria. To us this is a point subject to no bargaining.

«The second point is that we will never allow Israel to pass through the Suez Canal, whatever the price and whatever the cost.

«Passage through the Suez Canal is an integral part of the original Palestine question, it is not part of the question of liquidating the aftermath of aggression.

«In addition to these two points, we are committed to the four lines defined by the Arab Summit conference in Khartum: no acknowledgement of Israel, no conciliation with Israel, no negotiation and no treatment of the Palestine question because it is the question of the Palestine people.

SUMMIT

«Brothers, we believe accordingly that the development of events requires thought about holding an Arab meeting at Summit level.

«The decision of the Security Council represents a development which we have to discuss and examine together. We also have to study the consequences of this decision and get ready for them.

«We believe that the possibility of unified Arab action, which proved its effectiveness in Khartum, has to continue and perform its role to end the crisis. We must give it every opportunity even after the end of the crisis.

NEW SYSTEM

«If we succeed in doing this, we believe that a new Arab system can be born to give the Arab world a great push in the age of large economic groupings; in this age which requires technological advancement, vast resources and open markets. The Arab countries are not capable of realising the objectives of their development at the required speed if this is undertaken individually and in isolation from each other.

«There was speculation on how 2.5 million Israeli could conquer a hundred million Arabs. In fact the 2.5 million Israelis mobilised their forces and had forces behind them. The

"Despite all the discussions held at the United Nations Security Council on political solutions and their possibilities, we agreed at the meetings of the Council of Ministers that we should continue the transformation of the whole framework of our economy into a war-economy. Any political revolution, as I have said, is worthless. The only decisive factor is what actually happens.

"There have been many resolutions taken at the United Nations in 1947, 1948 and 1949 None of those resolutions has been implemented. Any political resolution acquires its value only according to the extent of the power which can be used in its implementation, and we believe that we have attained a certain extent of power which can be an alternative to the actual use of this power.

«Our battle for the liquidation of the consequences of the aggression will be over only when we have actually removed its consequences.

CHALLENGE

"We are gaining in strength, as I said. I believe that the natural challenge we are facing is to hold off the use of force until we have mastered it.

"We should not allow ourselves to be provoked by the enemy before the proper time. The enemy dealt his blow when he wanted and where he wanted and we are determined to have this right too, when circumstances arise.

«Experience has shown that we are capable of military action: A proof of this is the naval battle which took place in the territorial waters off Port Said:

"The enemy imagined that he could do whatever he liked. He sent his destroyer to cruise near Port Said: Our small torpedo boats went out and sank the big destroyer fitted with the latest electronic equipment. Our men fought and proved themselves capable!

"The enemy shelled the Suez refineries, I have also received letters and people said that I was afraid to fire back, that Madkur Abul Ezz wanted to raid Israel, that I refused and for that reason he was relieved of his office.

«There was nothing of the sort But we should have plans to fire back; when they fire we fire back This escalation was not in our favour; It was erroneous. So we said we would limit the battle; machine guns against machine guns. We inflicted heavy losses on the enemy.

Our use of artillery limited our losses sustained in the oil refineries.

"They said that the damage amounted to LE 100 million or 80 per cent. This is not true; I do not want to disclose the right figures and I don't want to give free information to the enemy. It suffices to say that our losses in Suez were limited thanks to the intervention of artillery.

ESCALATION

"This gives us some idea of the sort of war we wage and the sort of war the enemy wages. We fought a military war, while the enemy is fighting an intimidation war in the first place. We have evacuated a large number of the inhabitants of Suez and Ismailia, because we know that the enemy is holding us by the neck at Suez and Ismailia, and that each time clashes break out the enemy could direct his artillery at the civilians, killing a large number of them. This way the enemy would always keep the strain on our nerves. It was to foil this end of the enemy that

— the effectiveness sults that can be be unlimited.

"Today, we are end of the era of the Arab area. W the end of British in the Arab world has been achieved tionary struggle tion. When our into being, the list presence u the strategic point Arab world. The imperialism crack ned, hence all th liberated, and all We will continu until every trace and neo-colonialis appeared from ou The remaining have to go.

HOME

"Neo colonialis replace tradition Our struggle tow is continous, and dissuaded from circumstances. A chological cam launched by enemies or Isr lose confidence i in our leadership sension between the leadership, people and the order to influenc we are confident to win this batt it with the aid wish to win the we should win t battle.

"Today it is writing articles lose confidence Forces to make confidence in th sow discord be and the Arme psychological c new to us; we it for 15 years. jected to it in 1 to influence us ed in 1957 and sion.

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— the effectiveness of the results that can be reached, would be unlimited.

"Today, we are witnessing the end of the era of imperialism in the Arab area. We are seeing the end of British imperialism in the Arab world. This miracle has been achieved by the revolutionary struggle of our generation. When our generation came into being, the British imperialist presence used to control the strategic points of the whole Arab world. The grip of British imperialism cracked and loosened, hence all the peoples were liberated, and all the bases fell. We will continue to struggle until every trace of imperialism and neo-colonialism have disappeared from our Arab nation. The remaining military bases have to go.

HOME FRONT

"Neo colonialism should not replace traditional colonialism. Our struggle towards this end is continous, and we cannot be dissuaded from it by any circumstances. As for the psychological campaigns being launched by our imperialist enemies or Israel to have us lose confidence in ourselves and in our leaderships, to sow dissension between the Army and the leadership, between the people and the command or in order to influence our tenacity, we are confident of our ability to win this battle. We shall win it with the aid of God. If we wish to win the military battle we should win the psychological battle.

"Today it is said they are writing articles to make us lose confidence in our Armed Forces, to make the latter lose confidence in the people, and to sow discord between the people and the Armed Forces. This psychological campaign is not new to us; we have suffered of it for 15 years. We were subjected to it in 1956 but it failed to influence us. The same happened in 1957 and after the secession.

Members of the National Assembly,

"we have talks about what happened, and what is happening. It is our duty to cast a quick look at the future in the context of our military preparation and the possibilities of an armed battle in which we may be called upon to engage in defence of principles, of the land and of the right. The home front and its forces are the basis of everything...of every tenacity of every battle and of every victory.

"The power of the homefront on June 9 and 10 was the decisive factor that prevented a limited military defeat in the battle field from developing into an all-embracing defeat for the country as a whole.

"The enemy is concentrating his largest attacks on the home front, assisted in the process by large and cruel forces possessing more resources and means of psychological war than we imagine.

"The enemy tries to have the people lose confidence in their political leadership, their national army, and their revolutionary achievements. He also tries to have revolutionary forces lose confidence in one another and in other Arab forces. The enemy aims at casting doubt on everything."

DIFFICULT

"I came here knowing that they tried to throw doubts on the purpose which I am here for. They said I was here today on the 33rd to resign once again as if the destinies of nations are a matter of temper. This is not the case. I do not deny year development plan which ended in the period 1964/65. L.E. 379 million in 1965/66 and L.E. 364 million in 1966/67. Aggregate production in the past year amounted to L.E. 4,351 million and the volume of national income totalled 151 million pounds. In industry alone we have invested L.E. 1.029 million and built 830 factories each involving an average outlay of L.E. 1,240,000. The value of industrial prdouction moved up from L.E. 313 million to L.E 1,267 million. Our industrial exports increased from L.E. 13 million to L.E. 31 million during the year ending June 30, 1967, an increase of more than 600 per cent.

HIGH DAM

«The High Dam has been built and is now preserving the waters of the Nile. Electricity has actually been sparked off. The expansion of the agricultural areas is going ahead, and I hope that next year we shall be able to step up this agricultural expansion. Now we are on the threshold of the third five-year plan starting in July 1970. The new plan it is hoped will realise for us full employment of all the manpower which will be, approximately about 1.700.000 workers by then. We further hope that all consumer goods will be available by then.

The production framework will be completely changed and focus will be concentrated on the heavy and chemical industries and other export industries. We also have the objective of developing agriculture and reaching the degree of full exploitation of the High Dam. Tourism will be given great importance. Full studies of the possibilities of petroleum will take place.

«Besides this economic development, there is the social development. The number of students at the universities and higher institutes has increased. There has also been a great expansion in health services and health insurance. This economic and social progress cannot be halted by any shock. We should realise the fact that our enemies are putting their heads together only because they feel that we are making great progress, and are achieving many victories. If we were stagnant, nobody would care for us. War against us is proof that we are following the right path and so we should continue our march along that path of economic and social progress. The path of socialism should be followed and all obstructions should be removed.

COMPLICATION

«Sometimes we ourselves complicate things in the public and the private sectors. We call for the release of the possibilities of action, within the limits of the National Charter. These subjects were discussed at the meetings of the Council of Ministers, within the limits of the National Charter and the principles of the social revolution. The object was to give the individual more possibilities to work in a bid to increase the power of production, both in the public and the private sectors, and also to create employment. Nothing but exploitation is banned in Socialism. We should not complicate things for ourselves. We should solve all problems, including the problems of the farmers, and cooperative marketing. We spoke about such problems. We spoke about problems of the private sector and credit facilities. We also discussed various shackles which were imposed unnecessarily thus delaying action and release.

«Brothers, members of the National Assembly: Setbacks are factors in the life of emergent peoples. Peoples, however, are stronger than setbacks. Their faith, firmness, action, struggle and determination on advancement, regardless of the barriers makes them stronger than the set-backs.

«This Arab nation is stronger than all barriers. It will outstay all such barriers, and it will achieve a dear and decisive victory, by God's will. I pray Almighty God to lead you to success. Peace be upon you.» — GSS

CONFLICT ON S.C. RESOLUTION

(Cont. from page 1)

«The establishment of a peace settlement including secure and recognised boundaries is quite different from what the Indian representative has been proposing,» Eban said after the resolution was adopted. «He has now sought to interpret the resolution in the image of his own wishes.»

Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vasily V. Kuznetsov said he agreed with the Indian interpretation of the resolution.

The withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied territories was the «first necessary principle for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Near East.» he said.

Wary

Israel's response to the Council's action could not but make the world body wary, Mr. Kuznetsov said. They could expect that the Special UN Representative would have many obstacles to overcome before the resolution was implemented.

But, given the cooperation of all states, his task could be carried out in «the shortest period of time in the interests of peace in the Near East and in the interests of all states.

Ambassador Armand Berard of France said that throughout the past five months of discussions, his delegation had stressed there should be no room for ambiguity in any agreement reached in the UN.

Worthy

The three-power draft resolution and the Latin American proposal had certain advantages over the United Kingdom resolution, he said, «but we recognise the worthy and constant efforts by the United Kingdom delegation.»

France would have preferred a text which was clearer on the question of the terms of reference of the Secretary-General's Special Representative to the Middle East, he said.

But on the essential point of the withdrawal of Israeli forces

«Therefore, our non-acceptance of this draft resolution should be construed as placing things in their real, true, and legal context. Regrettably, in a world where things are reversed, where wreaths of glory are offered to the victory of aggression, a rest-

«tions» in his role in the Middle East.

Tomeh

Syria's George J. Tomeh, noted that the Palestine question has been before the Council for 20 years.

«As one looks around the Council table, when the future of the whole area, and the destiny of a whole people is being decided,» one is struck by the fact, he said, that practically no reference is made to the Arab people of Palestine — the 1.4 million Arab refugees.

Ambassador Tomeh asked why no reference was made in the British resolution to previous UN resolutions calling for a solution to the Arab refugee problem.

Vague

He opposed the British resolution for being vague on the withdrawal of Israeli troops and the return of the new refugees from the June war, and failing to mention the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

«If the United Kingdom draft resolution is adopted by the Security Council, despite its deficiencies and shortcomings, it is to be feared that another unjust and tragic chapter in the Arab world will be started, because more gains will be secured for Israel to the detriment of Arab rights.

«This is the more so that, up until the present time, hardly any nation in the world has been subjected to irrational hatred, defamation as much as the Arabs have been at the hands of world Zionism — indeed imperialism.

Context

«Therefore, our non-acceptance of this draft resolution should be construed as placing things in their real, true, and legal context. Regrettably, in a world where things are reversed, where wreaths of glory are offered to the victory of aggression, a rest-

the Council's unanimous action in approving the British resolution.

Mr. Goldberg said he felt the Council had the right to assume the parties to the dispute would receive the special U.N. Representative and work with him "to find solutions which will permit the Middle East to benefit from a permanent state of peace."

«The United States will use every recourse of diplomacy...to find a course which will put an end to the waste and futility of the arms race in the Middle East," he said, calling for publication of all shipment of arms to the Middle East as a first step.

Outside the Council, Lord Caradon said, "this is the way the Security Council should work. Every member played a part. The United Nations have shown themselves able to act effectively and in full agreement. It is of course only a start towards a settlement. But the first step in the right direction is the most important."

Japan

Japan's Senjim Tsuruoka said his delegation was "immensely pleased" at the Council action and expressed his gratitude to Lord Caradon for his efforts in achieving a compromise resolution which was adopted unanimously.

Denmark's Otto R. Borch, said the measure represented a «fair, balanced, non-prejudicial," resolution.

Formosa's Liu Chieh said the problems of the Middle East could not be solved overnight, but praised the resolution setting the scene for the dispatch of a special U.N. Representative.

Mr Goldberg speaking again, said he voted for his interpretation of the resolution and not for all variations expressed by the other speakers.

Atassy

Meawhile Syria's Chief of State Dr Nureddin El Atassy

Goldberg, the U.S. representative at the U.N. They lifted the ban on the travel of American citizens to the UAR and we issued a statement welcoming this step.

"Our battle in the world is not an easy battle. We cannot stay stagnant, We refuse any restraint on our freedom of action except for the restraints imposed by our principles, and that we cannot give up whetever the price. Had we been ready to give up our principles, there would have been no battle So except for that which is contrary to our principles, we are prepared to move in all directions So now we find that in this current situation we are moving in all fields.

ONLY FORCE

"We are more active in one field than others these days namely the political field. I wish to be plain with you and with the Arab people as a whole. There is a fundamental principle I believe in, in which my faith has not changed. That which has been usurped by force can only be restored by force. (Applause)

"Your applause reminds me of a letter I read three days ago. The sender told me that I would seem to be afraid for it had been noticed that I did not talk as I had done before. The question is not one of fear. I tell the fellow who sent the letter that I am not afraid. The question is not a personal affair so that I should feel afraid. Had it been a personal affair it would have been a simple affair. The question is much bigger. Therefore, I tell you that we should realise that power is of varying degrees, starting with the force of political action and escalating to the force of military action. Political force is the use of one of the degrees of force. Military action is the escalation of force to its most violent degree.

I wish to state that neither of them is an alternative to the other, and the line dividing them is not clear. In other words, we can try political action while at the same time preparing for military action if the latter becomes necessary.

"In the context of political and military action, I wish to state our position briefly but plainly I hope I shall not have to give too many details. Above all we need time to complete our military preparatoin. It is no longer a secret that we have completed our defensive ability.

It was irresponsible behaviour in my opinion, to talk about military action while we were unable to defend ourselves, and at a time after the setback when our lines of defence were incapable of facing the offensive, our skies and factories naked, as were our towns and our villages. These were all open to the enemy. If I had stood at that time to talk about military action this would have meant that I was trading or misleading neither of which I approve. However when the time comes for military action, we will not take a defensive attitude. In other words we must accelerate our preparations so as to be able to shoulder the responsibility for an offensive and purge our land occupied by the enemy which is our legitimate right.

But we must first be able to do so, otherwise any action would be a gross error and a crime. We cannot possibly permit another military setback for setbacks are not like colds or attacks of influenza which we may suffer every so often, say at intervals of one, two, three, four, or six months. What happened during the setback must never happen again. The heart of the matter is that following the setback there was no alternative before us once the decision for military action was

support for our legal war. This is what I can see clearly and briefly. I hope that this honourable Assembly will also see it with me. As for myself, I will not take any step unless I am sure of the next step. We have to learn from experience. We are not ready to take lessons from those who talk about the immediate war even through they did not fight and they do not intend to fight.

"The attempts at political action which have so far taken place at the Security Council occurred while fighting still going on. The ceasefire decision was taken by Security Council Under American pressure. the Security Council for the first time in its history-failed to couple the ceasefire decision with another calling for the return of the fighting forces to the positions they had held before the battle We all know the story.

USSR

The Soviet Union, afterwards called for an extra-ordinary session of the United Nations General Assembly. President Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, Premier Kosygin of the Soviet Union, and a number of Heads of State attended. As a matter of fact neither we nor our friends attached much hope to this session, so far as the removal of the consequences of the aggression is concerned. The most important thing at this session was to awaken world public opinion and wake up the international society. The wide discussions resulted in a great advancement in these fields. The world saw a different image of Israel. The world saw Israel as a tool for the imperialistic powers, as a tool for aggression and a tool for terror more than anything else.

NOT ANXIOUS

"We did not attach much importance to the outcome of the UN session for an important reason. Political action can never be of any value exept according to the power or the possibilities of the power which can support it. At that time, we had not yet restored an effective part of our powers. Then came the ordinary session of the United Nations. As a matter of fact, we were not anxious for a decision from either the Security Council or the General Assembly. At the same time, however we did not mean to delay or freeze things. The most important thing for us was to increase our military power, the real balance in anything. Our readiness to resist is the factor which defined the extent of the pressure imposed on us, and the possibilities of the success of such pressure. During the ordinary session of the United Nations we did not delay or freeze things. We rather cooperated in the political action with our friends. We afterwards requested a debate of the Middle East crisis at the Security Council to focus the world's attention to the aggression and its continuation. In the course of contacts we made it was suggested that the non-permanent member States of the Security Council map out a draft resolution.

UK RESOLUTION

«India submitted an Afro-Asian draft resolution co-sponsored by Nigeria and Mali.

«This resolution in our view, would have secured some basic guarantees. But the Arab people should know that the only full guarantee is our preparedness to bear arms at any time in defence of right, principle and our land.

«Denmark later submitted a draft resolution which we rejected at once. The USA also submitted a resolution which we rejected immediately

«Britain came up with still another resolution which tried to

acknowledgement of Israel, no conciliation with Israel, no negotiation and no treatment of the Palestine question because it is the question of the Palestine people.

SUMMIT

«Brothers, we believe accordingly that the development of events requires thought about holding an Arab meeting at Summit level.

«The decision of the Security Council represents a development which we have to discuss and examine together. We also have to study the consequences of this decision and get ready for them.

«We believe that the possibility of unified Arab action, which proved its effectiveness in Khartum, has to continue and perform its role to end the crisis. We must give it every opportunity even after the end of the crisis.

NEW SYSTEM

«If we succeed in doing this, we believe that a new Arab system can be born to give the Arab world a great push in the age of large economic groupings; in this age which requires technological advancement, vast resources and open markets. The Arab countries are not capable of realising the objectives of their development at the required speed if this is undertaken individually and in isolation from each other.

«There was speculation on how 2.5 million Israeli could conquer a hundred million Arabs. In fact the 2.5 million Israelis mobilised their forces and had forces behind them. The 100 million Arabs did not mobilise their forces, either military or...

"What I am saying now requires first of all extensive development and consolidation of the Arab League so that it may shoulder its task as an effective organisation having economic, political and cultural unity.

"Although this requires great attention the primary matter, that of the elimination of the traces of aggression, should be the first item on the agenda of the proposed conference.

How should we deal with the resolution of the Security Council ?

We believe that this question should be put to a general debate although it is not important in itself. Any resolution taken by the Security Council does not mean anything in itself, even if it were on the Afro-Asian or the Soviet resolution. There is great difference between a resolution and a solution.

«We believe that the vague words of the United Nations resolutions is a habitual thing. That is not the important matter The important thing is what happens in reality. Will Israel really withdraw from all the lands it occupied during the battles of June or not. Here lies the decisive demarcation between words and action. As far as we are concerned, we believe that time is on our side. If we were not given the time we demand it, because it is essential for the only guarantee that gives any political action real force — I mean the degree of our readiness for military offensive.

LESSONS

"I want to state in your presence, and I shoulder complete responsibility for this, that Israel is not the invincible terrible enemy. This is a mere fable

"I make this statement with the lessons of the setback in my mind, and after a comprehensive study of its circumstances It was only our inefficiency that brought about the defeat and it was not that the defeat was brought about through an exceptional supremacy of the enemy.

«We should, however, fight a different sort of war in which we should avoid all reasons for failure and inefficiency provided that we mobilise all our potentialities and capacities: these are quite adequate and effective.

leaders and people said that I was afraid to fire back, that Madkur Abul Ezz wanted to raid Israel, that I refused and for that reason he was relieved of his office.

«There was nothing of the sort But we should have plans to fire back; when they fire we fire back. This escalation was not in our favour; It was erroneous. So we said we would limit the battle: machine guns against machine guns. We inflicted heavy losses on the enemy.

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ESCALATION

"This gives us some idea of the sort of war we wage and the sort of war the enemy wages. We fought a military war, while the enemy is fighting an intimidation war in the first place. We have evacuated a large number of the inhabitants of Suez and Ismailia, because we know that the enemy is holding us by the neck at Suez and Ismailia, and that each time clashes break out the enemy could direct his artillery at the civilians, killing a large number of them. This way the enemy would always keep the strain on our nerves. It was to foil this end of the enemy that we have decided to evacuate the inhabitants of both Suez and Ismailia.

«In my opinion the conduct of military operation should be based on sound military bases alone, and not the strategem of clubs and parties and newspaper articles, for then we would certainly fail to define the range of the battle.

«If we consider the escalation of operations we are not going to do so at the conditions dictated by the enemy. On the other hand, we have to escalate the operations with our own conditions and the circumstances most favourable for our plans. As I told you, time is on our side, our power is growing with the passage of days and the territory which the enemy is occupying is far more extensive than his ability to control it. Besides, the resistance of the Palestinians is growing stronger and this is a positive element which has a great value in the all-embracing battle.

"The statements of the Jews tell of their chasing the members of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation and of al Fatah Organisation. The Jews have also captured a number of the members of the Fatah Organisation and other Palestinian commandos. This means that the Palestinian resistance is growing ever stronger. Resistance is the right of each country under occupation. We should further understand that the enemy is launching a psychological campaign against us on the largest scale and with the most up-to-date methods. We should still understand that these campaigns would by no means succeed in imposing the Israeli will upon the will of the whole of the Arab nation.

VICTORY

"Israel will not be able to impose its will on the Arab people in Egypt The Arab people in Egypt, with all their manpower economic: political and military possibilities are determined, and will affirm their determination on the land of the battle They will have victory regardless of the dangers and difficulties If the Arab nation would be able to go on with its unified action based on the principles agreed on in Khartum — and this is what we believe

Members of the Assembly,

"we have talked about what happened, and what is being. It is our duty to take a quick look at the general context of our military action and the possibilities of armed battle in which we may be called upon to defend the fence of principles and of the right of our people, front and its future, on the basis of everything we have, tenacity of every soldier, every victory.

"The power of the enemy on June 9 and 10 was the decisive factor that prevented military defeat from developing into an all-embracing defeat of the country as a whole.

"The enemy is now making his largest attack on the front, assisted in this by large and cruel forces and more resources and the psychological war against.

"The enemy tries to make our people lose confidence in their political leadership, their national army, and their revolutionary achievements. He tries to have our armed forces lose confidence in one another and in their leaderships. The enemy is creating doubt on every side.

DIFFICULTIES

"I came here as they tried to thwart the purpose which I came for. They said I would be on the 33rd to return as if the destinies of nations are a matter of chance. This is not the case. I told my brothers that like everything I went through difficult moments. They said that I was sick. Now I get psychologically over the difficult circumstances we went through. Yes, we went through difficulties, but we went through them, overcame them and came back and overcome difficult for me to speak of the events that took place after the setback. Many things happened that broke the heart of every man. But all this is nothing in view of the determination of our people that I shall not retire. Ever since the 10th of June the question was always before me. Any talk about resignation is out of the question. Any talk about the elimination of the traces of the aggression is out of the question. then will be ready to fight. The people. The psychological campaign does not aim at breaking the truth but at distorting it. We should prevent this whatever the reasons, with vigilance and awarness and not with emotions and the use of slogans. I believe that my task needs to be carried out on the home front. The Arab National Assembly can play a positive role in this respect by increasing the effectiveness of political action.

"Your honourable Assembly should conclude that the Permanent Congress of the UAR We should work for the codification of the revolution and promulgation of laws.

"I already spoke on the question two years ago and later on the 23rd. The Arab people now should see a picture of what to expect in their future after the removal of the consequences of the aggression. The deficiency in political action have been observed at this stage, because all the efforts concentrated on the military field. There was a lack of action. In the military forces — which I found in many cases superhuman exterted

INVESTMENT

«But political action is promoting its effectiveness a necessity. We have achieved a deal, but doubts are cast on our achievements. We spend L.E. 3,000 million in the past 15 years, of which 1,000 million was invested between 1952 and 1956 and 2,000 million in the

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Members of the National Assembly,

"we have talks about what happened, and what is happening. It is our duty to cast a quick look at the future in the context of our military preparation and the possibilities of an armed battle in which we may be called upon to engage in defence of principles, of the land and of the right. The home front and its forces are the basis of everything...of every tenacity of every battle and of every victory.

"The power of the homefront on June 9 and 10 was the decisive factor that prevented a limited military defeat in the battle field from developing into an all-embracing defeat for the country as a whole.

"The enemy is concentrating his largest attacks on the home front, assisted in the process by large and cruel forces possessing more resources and means of psychological war than we imagine.

"The enemy tries to have the people lose confidence in their political leadership, their national army, and their revolutionary achievements. He also tries to have revolutionary forces lose confidence in one another and in other Arab forces. The enemy aims at casting doubt on everything.»

DIFFICULT

"I came here knowing that they tried to throw doubts on the purpose which I am here for. They said I was here today on the 33rd to resign once again as if the destinies of nations are a matter of temper. This is not the case. I do not deny brothers that like a human being I went through difficult moments. They said abroad that I was sick. One naturally gets psychologically sick due to the difficult circumstances that we went through It was diffi- we went through. It was diffi- back and overcome it. It was difficult for me to accept some of the events that occurred after the setback. Things happened that broke my heart as a man. But all this was nothing in view of the demand of the people that I should remain. Ever since the 10th (of June) the question was no longer before me. Any talk about it was out of the question before the elimination of the consequences of the aggression. Everything then will be referred to the people The psychological campaign does not aim at establishing the truth but destruction. We should prevent that, whatever the reasons, through facts and awarness and not through emotions and the repetition of slogans. I believe that a great task needs to be done on the home front. The National Assembly can play a major role in this respect. It has effectiveness of political action.

"Your honourable Assemby should conclude the drafting of the Permanent constitution of the UAR We should conclude the codification of the revolution and promulgate effective laws.

"I already spoke about this question two years ago, and later on the 23rd. The people as of now should see a picture of what to expect in their political life after the removal of the consequences of the aggression. A deficiency in political action may have been observed in the last stage, because all the effort was concentrated on the military field. There was also that emotion. In the military field, efforts — which I feel were in many cases superhuman — were exterted

INVESTMENT

«But political action and promoting its effectiveness is a necessity. We have done a great deal, but doubts are being cast on our achievements. We invested L.E. 3,000 million over the past 15 years, of which L.E. 750 million was invested between 1952 and 1959, L.E. 1,513 million in the first five

Vasily V. Kuznetsov said he agreed with the Indian interpretation of the resolution.

The withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied territories was the «first necessary principle for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Near East,» he said.

Wary

Israel's response to the Council's action could not but make the world body wary, Mr. Kuznetsov said. They could expect that the Special UN Representative would have many obstacles to overcome before the resolution was implemented.

But, given the cooperation of all states, his task could be carried out in «the shortest period of time in the interests of peace in the Near East and in the interests of all states.

Ambassador Armand Berard of France said that throughout the past five months of discussions, his delegation had stressed there should be no room for ambiguity in any agreement reached in the UN.

Worthy

The three-power draft resolution and the Latin American proposal had certain advantages over the United Kingdom resolution, he said, «but we recognise the worthy and constant efforts by the United Kingdom delegation.»

France would have preferred a text which was clearer on the question of the terms of reference of the Secretary-General's Special Representative to the Middle East, he said.

But on the essential point of the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all territories, the French Ambassador said there was no ambiguity. But he added that today's action was only a point of departure.

Door

Bulgaria's Milko Tarabanov, said the resolution «might open the door to a solution to the crisis in the Middle East on the condition it be scrupulously observed.»

Chief S.O. Adebo of Nigeria, the next speaker, praised Lord Caradon for his «Trojan» efforts in working out a compromise resolution.

«The resolution we have just adopted is only a beginning, a promising beginning» of the Council's work, on the Middle East crisis, he said.

Withdrawal

«The withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the territories they occupied in the recent conflict... should take place in a context in which all the countries in the area... can feel and enjoy a sense of security,» Chief Adeho added.

M. Mamadou Kante of Mali said his vote should be interpreted as meaning that withdrawal of Israeli troops should not be tied to any conditions. A solution had to be based on the right of all peoples to their homeland and to live in peace and security.

Argentine Ambassador Jose Maria Ruda supported the withdrawal, accompanied by the call for an end to the state of belligerency which has existed in the area for nearly 20 years.

Brazil

Brazilian Ambassador Geraldo De Carvalho Silos, said his country supports the British resolution.

Canada's George Ignatieff, said the British resolution «is now the resolution of the whole Council,» adding that he felt it met the essential views of both the Arabs and the Israelis.

Ethiopian Ambassador Endalkchew Makonnen said «time is a factor of decisive importance.» and called for Council action on Wednesday. He said no proposal would be worthy of his country's support, or produce lasting results unless it was based on the UN Charter, was balanced and gave the special UN Representative «reasonable room and discided,» one is struck by the fact, he said, that practically no reference is made to the Arab people of Palestine — the 1.4 million Arab refugees.

Ambassador Tomeh asked why no reference was made in the British resolution to previous UN resolutions calling for a solution to the Arab refugee problem.

Vague

He opposed the British resolution for being vague on the withdrawal of Israeli troops and the return of the new refugees from the June war, and failing to mention the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

«If the United Kingdom draft resolution is adopted by the Security Council, despite its deficiencies and shortcomings, it is to be feared that another unjust and tragic chapter in the Arab world will be started, because more gains will be secured for Israel to the detriment of Arab rights.

«This is the more so that, up until the present time, hardly any nation in the world has been subjected to irrational hatred, defamation as much as the Arabs have been at the hands of world Zionism — indeed imperialism.

Context

«Therefore, our non-acceptance of this draft resolution should be construed as placing things in their real, true, and legal context. Regrettably, in a world where things are reversed, where wreaths of glory are offered to the victory of aggression, a restoring of values to a juster perspective becomes a moral imperative,» he told the Council.

«Peace can not be imposed by force," he added.

Referring to Eban's interpretation of his previous speech as a "hymn of hate," Tomeh said his speech really invoked two of the ten commandments from the Bible-against killing and against stealing property.

Eban

Abba Eban of Israel, said he regretted that the meeting began with Syria's comments, which he characterized as a "hymn of hate and aggression."

Eban reiterated his country's views that «we shall respect and fully maintain the cease-fire lines" until a peace treaty guaranteeing secure frontiers, recognition of sovereignty and national identity of all Middle Eastern states and freedom for navigation of all shipping in international waterways.

Such a peace treaty would lead to consideration of a solution to the refugee problem, he said.

Peace

"Movement from the cease-fire lines can be envisaged only within the framework of a lasting peace," he said.

He said the establishment of permanent and agreed upon boundaria is a requisite for a permanent peace.

The boundaries "must be mutually worked out by the parties themselves. The states in the region, in direct negotiation with each other" have the responsibility of working out a settlement, he said.

Imposed

«We do not believe that member states have the right to refuse direct negotiation," Eban said, adding "peace can grow by agreement, it can not be imposed."

Eban reiterated his Oct. 3 speech calling for Arab-Israeli cooperation on the economic, scientific and cultural levels in the Middle East following the establishment of peace in the area.

Mr. Goldberg of the United States, expressed gratification at find a course which will put an end to the waste and futility of the arms race in the Middle East," he said, calling for publication of all shipment of arms to the Middle East as a first step.

Outside the Council, Lord Caradon said, "this is the way the Security Council should work. Every member played a part The United Nations have shown themselves able to act effectively and in full agreement. It is of course only a start towards a settlement. But the first step in the right direction is the most important."

Japan

Japan's Senjim Tsuruoka said his delegation was "immensely pleased" at the Council action and expressed his gratitude to Lord Caradon for his efforts in achieving a compromise resolution which was adopted unanimously.

Denmark's Otto R. Borch, said the measure represented a «fair, balanced, non-prejudicial," resolution.

Formosa's Liu Chieh said the problems of the Middle East could not be solved overnight, but praised the resolution setting the scene for the dispatch of a special U.N. Representative,

Mr Goldberg speaking again, said he voted for his interpretation of the resolution and not for all variations expressed by the other speakers

Atassy

Meawhile, Syria's Chief of State Dr Nureddin El Attasy warned Arab leaders yesterday that compromising for a peaceful settlement with Israel was "national treason"

Speaking at a mass rally at Der el Zor, North East Syria El Sayed El Attassy said the Arab countries "have no alternative left but that of armed struggle."

He said : «International bodies under the influence of the United States have become theatres of conspiracy against Arab rights: These bodies have been rendered incapable of defending peoples rights;"

Shukairy

In a letter made public before the U.N. Security Council's Middle East vote yesterday, the Palestine Liberation Organisation asserted the Palestinian people rejected "any form of recognition the illegal "state of Israel"

«They consider the present Zionist domination of Palestine a military conquest which will certainly end as all other aggressive conquests of Palestine during its long history have ended,," the letter said:

"The Palestinian people who were disarmed during the British mandate are now heroically fighting this Israeli occupation and will continue their struggle, supported by the Arab, friendly and freedom-loving people all over the world, until their homeland is liberated," it warned:

The letter, dated Monday, was addressed to the President of the Security Council, Ambassador Mamadou Boubacar Kante of Mali, It was signed by El Sayed Ahmad El Shukairy, President of the Organisation and Dr. Ezzat Tannus, its New York representative, — Reuter, UPI, AP

New Cosmos

Moscow, Nov. 23.

The Soviet Union today launched the 192nd in its series Sosmos setellites second since the 50th anniversary of the Communist revolution, the official news agency Tass reported.

The satellite's equipment was reported functioning normally. — UPI.

VIOLENCE MAY BE NECESSARY NEGRO TELLS SENATORS

US city riots investigation 'absurd'

Washington, November 23,

MILITANT and defiant, a bushy-haired negro confronted investigating senators yesterday with a call for racial violence and said city riots are but «a minute example of what will happen if blacks don't get their rights.»

Then Frederick H. Brooks leaned back in the witness chair and puffed cigarettes while senators called his Black Power doctrine suicidal and disservice to the American Negro.

«That's your opinion,» Brooks said.

Brooks, 21, from Nashville, Tennessee, claimed that a majority of American negroes agree with the course he advocates, and he described it this way:

"I believe that black people should gain their rights by whatever available means-and if that means violence that's what I mean. That's not for me to decide. It's up to the white people what means will be used.»

"what you are advocating is certainly a suicidal policy for the negro and for our country.» Senator Henry M. Jackson, Democrat, Washington told Brooks.

"when this country won its independence from Britain what means did it use--love? Brooks replied.

Brooks, once Nashville chairman of the Student Non violence Coordinating committee and director of a controversial negro liberation school, called the Senate investigation of big city riots absurd.

He said most white Americans do not want to see negroes achieve equality.

While he advocates violence, Brooks said he could recall no situation in which he used it himself.

DISSERVICE

"What you are doing is a tragic disservice to your own people.» Senator Edmund S. Muskie, Democrat-Maine, told Brooks. "I think it is a disservice to yourself.

"You're deliberately blinding yourself to the constructive effort to advance. You're saying to us that you are not interested in any evidence that suggests that the negro is making progress. That you dismiss that in advance without bothering to anything about it.

Senator John L. McClellan, Democrat-Arkansas, chariman of the permanent subcommittee on investigations, asked Brooks for his view on a series of militant statements by Stockely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown.

He said Brown had once said that if the American negroes were armed they would "take a good head» on President Johnson.

"I would advocate that as a last resort.» Brooks said.

McClellan: Would you shoot Lady Bird?

POLICE

Brooks: If she was my enemy. She is the wife of Lyndon Johnson and I consider her my enemy.

McClellan. But you wouldn't start a roit and you say the police did.

Brooks: yes I said that.

Brooks said it in reference to roits in Nashville April 8 and 9 He said a small demonstration expanded into a riot only after the police sent in men with helmets, billy clubs and shot guns.

Britain calls for a general review of disarmament

Geneva, November 23,

BRITAIN today formally called for a five-year review of steps taken towards disarmament as part of the projected treaty banning the spread of nuclear weapons.

The call came in the form of an amendment presented by Sir Harold Beeley, Britain's delegate to the 17-nation Disarmament Conference, and was warmly welcomed by Italy.

The draft treaty, presented by the Soviet Union and the U.S. 13 weeks ago, already provides for a review, five years after it comes into force, of the operation of its main clauses.

The British amendment would merely include the treaty preamble in this review.

But this contains important declarations favouring a cut-off in nuclear weapons production, the elimination of nuclear stockpiles and general and complete disarmament.

The Aim of the amendment, first put forward less formally last month, is to satisfy demands by non-nuclear nations for more binding obligations on the nuclear powers to press ahead to new measures of disarmament. — Reuter

CYPRUS PEACE PLAN

(Cont. from page 1)

Commenting on their missions, the spokesman said: «Anything that can help towards a settlement of the present dispute is welcomed. We support fully the intervention and interest shown, particularly by Secretary-General U Thant personally.»

He denied that Greece had rejected the five demands made by Turkey this week.

These included removal of General George Grivas as commander of the Cyprus armed forces, withdrawal of Greek forces from Cyprus, and compensation for Turks killed in recent clashes.

Turkey also called for the disarming of members of Greek Cypriot organisations and guarantees that «pressures» against the Turkish Cypriot community would cease.

Observers in Athens noted that Greece had virtually conceded the first demand by recalling Gen. Grivas to Athens, though Greek officials today still denied reports that he had resigned.

The observers said some arrangement was possible over the demand for compensation, but that Greece was likely to oppose the other three requests.

Diverted

President Johnson's special envoy on the Cyprus situation landed at a military airfield near Ankara today after demonstrating students at the commercial airport prevented his plane from

Israel reacts to UN

(Cont. from page 1)

Israel has also declared that the West Bank of the Jordan river and the Gaza strip had been held by the Arabs not by right but by force and that armistice agreements recognizing the Arab «occupation» of those areas were nullified by the Arab «aggression» of last Spring.

Indications are that the Israelis will dig into the areas they have occupied to prod the Arabs into direct peace talks, or failing that to establish a foundation for prolonged occupation.

The Israelis are also expect-

'MOST TRAGIC SEA FACES U.S. IN VIET

Tokyo, Nov

NORTH VIETNAM'S «Nhan Dan» daily pr the South Vietnamese Liberation Front fi register their «most resounding victories» in ram between winter and coming spring.

The official North Vietnamese newspaper borate. But its prediction coincided with (NLF) report of having wiped out 1,160 allie cluding 710 American soldiers in four days of ing in Dak To province in the Central Highlan Nov. 15.

«Nhan Dan» rent dry season would go down as «the darkest season» for the tes and its allie

Both the "Nha tion and the Vie were broadcast by news agency (VN red in Tokyo.

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"All this sho year's winter-spri most resounding South Vietnamese people, and that season will ob darkest, most tr U.S. aggressors chmen," said "N

The Vietcong Dak To fighting originally by th Liberation press relayed by VNA

New York murders rise 13 p.c.

New York, Nov. 23,

MURDERS in New York city increased by more than 13 per cent in the first 10 months of 1967, with an even greater rate of increase in robberies and felonious assualts, police said Wednesday.

From January I to the end of October, 617 persons were slain as compared to 535 for the same period last year, a police report said.

Statistical compilations for other crimes showed that from January 1 to September 30, 25, 653 persons were robbery victims compared to 15,208 for the same period last year.

Felonious assaults jumped more than 15 per cent in the first nine months of 1967 when 20,713 persons were either seriously injured in attacks or were assaulted with dangerous weapons. Last year 17,236 cases were recorded over the same period—AP

EXPEL NAT CHINA, SAY

United Nation

France today General Assembly tionalist China Peking in its pl

Mr. Armand Be ch delegate, also diamtrically oppo

Yigal-Dayan

SOME of the 51 cyclists who followed one another into a ravine near Puebla, Mexico, on the third day of the 2.190 km Round-Mexico race, survey damage to their equipment as others await medical aid. Mexican rider Fulgencio Salazar was killed. — AP Photo

T TRAGIC SEASON S U.S. IN VIETNAM'

Tokyo, November 23,

ETNAM'S «Nhan Dan» daily predicted today n Vietnamese Liberation Front fighters would «most resounding victories» in South Viet- winter and coming spring.

al North Vietnamese newspaper did not ela- its prediction coincided with a Vietcong t of having wiped out 1,160 allied troops, in- American soldiers in four days of fierce fight- o province in the Central Highlands beginning Nov. 15.

«Nhan Dan» said the current dry season in Vietnam would go down in history as «the darkest, most tragic season» for the United States and its allies.

Both the "Nhan Dan" prediction and the Vietcong claims were broadcast by the Vietnam news agency (VNA) and monitored in Tokyo.

"Nhan Dan" estimated that 270,000 U.S. and allied troops have been «wiped out" in South Vietnam in the past two years.

"All this shows that this year's winter-spring will see the most resounding victories for the South Vietnamese fighters and people, and that the current dry season will obviously be the darkest, most tragic season for U.S. aggressors and their henchmen," said "Nhan Dan"

The Vietcong report on the Dak To fighting was broadcast originally by the Viet Cong's Liberation press agency. It was relayed by VNA: — AP

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-Dayan

Standards still differ among Six

Brussels, Nov. 23,

DESPITE nine years of the Common Market, there are still big differences in living standards among member countries, according to a poll published today by the Community Statistics Office.

Italy has by far the lowest standard of living of the six member countries. Luxembourg has the highest among industrial workers and Holland the highest among agricultural workers.

The spending of the average industrial Italian worker was taken as 100 by investigators who checked 42,000 families over several weeks in Germany, France, Italy, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg.

Industrial standards of living based on consumption were Italy 100, Holland 134, Germany 141, France 143, Belgium 152 and Luxembourg 168.

Agr'culture

Agricultural living standards statistics showed Italy as 100, France 138, Belgium and Germany 153, Luxembourg 162 and Holland 180.

Dutch farm workers thus spend 80 per cent more than their Italian contemporaries.

The study showed France has 48 cars per 100 families compared to 20 per 100 in Italy.

The Dutch led the television poll with 57 sets per 100 families compared to Luxembourg with only 27. But Luxembourg led with 82 washing machines, 70 refrigerators and 40 telephones. France has a low six telephones per 100 families — UPI

EXPEL' NATIONALIST CHINA, SAYS FRANCE

United Nations, New York Nov. 23,

France today called on the General Assembly to expel Nationalist China and recogise Peking in its place.

Mr. Armand Berard, the French delegate, also took a view

AYUB INAUGURATES MANGLA DAM

WORLD SPORTS NEWS

England, Scotland qualify for Euro Soccer Cup

London, November 23,

ENGLAND and Scotland both won their Group Eight European Championship Soccer Cup qualifying matches last night to set the stage for their decisive meeting in Glasgow next February.

England beat Northern Ireland 2-0 at Wembley while Scotland won 3-2 against Wales at Hampden Park, Glasgow.

England lead the Group Eight table by a point from Scotland, England need only a draw when the teams meet at Hampden Park on February 24 to clinch their place in the quarter-finals.

England's goals came from Geoff Hurst after 43 minutes and Bobby Charlton after 62 minutes.

Scotland's goals came from Allen Gilzean (2) and Bobby McKinnon, while Ron Davies and Jim Durban netted for Wales.

Wales plays Northern Ireland on February 28.

Placings :
England, 8 points.
Scotland, 7 points,
N. Ireland, 3 points,
Wales 2 points,

In Bruges, Belgium beat Luxemboug 3-0 in their European Championship Soccer Cup qualifying match last night.

There was no score at half-time Thio (2) and Claesen scored for the Belgians in the second half.

Attendance : 9.000

Bulgaria

In Sofia, meanwhile, Bulgaria advanced to the next round of the Olympic qualifying soccer tournament with a 3-0 win over Turkey in a second-leg match yesterday.

There was no score at half time in the match watched by more than 10.000 fans in cold but clear weather.

Bulgaria won the first leg match in Turkey 3-2 and with their 6-2 aggregate score qualify for a match against either East Germany or Rumania in the next round.

Both sides relied on defence in a dull first half but the home team opened up after the interval with intelligent attacking football which brought deserved success with three goals. — Reuter and UPI

Priest swept into grave in funeral

Georgetown, Guyana, Nov, 23

A mass of mini-skirted mourners swept a priest shouting prayers into the open grave in fantastic scenes at a burial service here.

Riot police and mounted troopers were called out to control thousands of teenagers at the funeral of popular 17-year-old Joan Forrester, killed in a

RIOT AFTER IZMIR BEAT MADRID 3-0

Istanbul, Nov. 23,

SPANISH soccer players fought with officials and spectators after Goeztepe Izmir had beaten Atletico Madrid 3-0 in an inter-cities fairs Cup soccer match at Izmir tonight.

Atletico players Collar and Ufarte were sent off during an incident-packed match. After the match Atletico players exchanged blows with the Yugoslav referee and linesmen, who pulled up flagsticks around the pitch to repel their assailants.

Spectators ran on to the pitch and joined in the fighting. Two Turkish fans were taken to hospital. Otto Gloria, Atletico's trainer, said: «I have been in this business for 26 years and have never seen such bad refereeing.»

Goeztepe scored their third goal in the last minute to qualify for the third round on a 3-2 aggregate.

Protest

Goeztepe took the lead in the 15th minute when Halil scored from a penalty after Fevzi had been fouled. Atletico's Collar protested at the penalty award and the referee ordered him off the field.

Goeztepe went into a 2—0 lead in the 28th minute when Gursel scored with a header. In the 67th minute Atletico's Ufarte quarrelled with the referee and appeared to spit at him. Ufarte was sent off.

In the last minute Halil netted Goeztepe's third goal which ensured their place in the next round. During the fighting which broke out after the match, Yugoslav referee Josip Stremezki was knocked to the ground.

One of the Turkish spectators said: «The Spanish players turned the football pitch into a bull-fighting arena.» A crowd of 30,000 watched the match. — Reuter

IOC mission on S.A. to

(Cont. from page 1)

Commenting on their missions, the spokesman said: «Anything that can help towards a settlement of the present dispute is welcomed. We support fully the intervention and interest shown, particularly by Secretary-General U Thant personally.»

He denied that Greece had rejected the five demands made by Turkey this week.

These included removal of General George Grivas as commander of the Cyprus armed forces, withdrawal of Greek forces from Cyprus, and compensation for Turks killed in recent clashes.

Turkey also called for the disarming of members of Greek Cypriot organisations and guarantees that «pressure» against the Turkish Cypriot community would cease.

Observers in Athens noted that Greece had virtually conceded the first demand by recalling Gen. Grivas to Athens, though Greek officials today still denied reports that he had resigned.

The observers said some arrangement was possible over the demand for compensation, but that Greece was likely to oppose the other three requests.

Diverted

President Johnson's special envoy on the Cyprus situation landed at a military airfield near Ankara today after demonstrating students at the commercial airport prevented his plane from landing there.

The aircraft carrying Mr. Cyrus Vance was prevented from landing at Ankara's Esenboga airport when several hundred students threatened to lie down on the runway.

His plane was then diverted to a military airfield near Ankara where it landed safely. It was not immediately known who Mr. Vance will meet in Ankara.

Earlier today a government spokesman said Turkey had rejected a Greek offer of negotiations on the Cyprus issue and insisted on her right to protect Turkish Cypriots.

People lined up to give blood in Istanbul yesterday as Turkey appeared to be inching nearer to armed action over Cyprus. —

Demonstrators

Two thousand student demonstrators went on the rampage in the centre of the Turkish capital tonight, smashing windows of American offices only a few hours after the arrival of President Johnson's special envoy on Cyprus.

The demonstrators hurled stones through the windows of the Turkish-American Foreign Trade bank, the Pan American office and the Turkish-United States logistics command.

In a day of unabated tension between Greece and Turkey, Turkish observation posts on their common frontier reported about 20 Greek soldiers had been killed when their truck which was thought to have hit a mine, exploded near the border.

The stone-throwing in the capital flared after the demonstrators had battled with police when they hurled stones at the United States informations agency's office and tried to hoist the Turkish flag in place of the Stars and Stripes.

Several people were injured and a number arrested.—Reuter

declarations favouring a cut-off in nuclear weapons production, the elimination of nuclear stockpiles and general and complete disarmament.

The Aim of the amendment, first put forward less formally last month, is to satisfy demands by non-nuclear nations for more binding obligations on the nuclear powers to press ahead to new measures of disarmament. — Reuter

Israel reacts to UN

(Cont. from page 1)

Israel has also declared that the West Bank of the Jordan river and the Gaza strip had been held by the Arabs not by right but by force and that armistice agreements recognizing the Arab «occupation» of those areas were nullified by the Arab «aggression» of last Spring.

Indications are that the Israelis will dig into the areas they have occupied to prod the Arabs into direct peace talks, or failing that to establish a foundation for prolonged occupation.

The Israelis are also expected to hold the East bank at the Suez Canal which they now occupy until they are assured of free passage through the vital waterway.

Mr. Eban told the Council last night that he had simply sent the text of the resolution to Israel.

There was speculation here that he might face a storm of criticism from «hawks» in the Israeli Knesset because of the reference in the resolution to Israeli troop withdrawals.

Eban told newsmen he planned to leave for home on Friday, stopping off in London. He said Israel «of course,» would talk with the U.N. special representative, but indicated that it would not withdraw its troops from occupied Arab territory until a peace treaty is signed.

India

Eban said as much in the Council after Indian Ambassador Gopalaswami Parthasarathi in a statement later endorsed by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vasily Kuznetsov, declared:

«The draft commits the Council to the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the whole of Sinai Gaza, the old city of Jerusalem, Jordanian territory west of the Jordan river and the Syrian territory. This being so, Israel cannot use the words 'secure and recognized boundaries'... to retain any territory occupied in the recent conflict.»

«The establishment of a peace settlement including secure and recognized boundaries is quite diffcrent from what the Indian representative has been proposing,» Eban reported. «He has sought to interpret the resolution in the image of his own wishes. A resolution says what it says, and not what it has specially and consciously avoided saying.» — AP, UPI.

DISSERVICE

"What you are doing is a tragic disservice to your own people," Senator Edmund S. Muskie, Democrat-Maine, told Brooks. "I think it is a disservice to yourself.

"You're deliberately blinding yourself to the constructive effort to advance. You're saying to us that you are not interested in any evidence that suggests that the negro is making progress. That you dismiss that in advance without bothering to anything about it.

Senator John L. McClellan, Democrat-Arkansas, chariman of the permanent subcommittee on investigations, asked Brooks for his view on a series of militant statements by Stockely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown.

He said Brown had once said that if the American negroes were armed they would "take a good head" on President Johnson.

"I would advocate that as a last resort," Brooks said.

McClellan: Would you shoot Lady Bird?

POLICE

Brooks: If she was my enemy. She is the wife of Lyndon Johnson and I consider her my enemy.

McClellan. But you wouldn't start a roit and you say the police did.

Brooks: yes I said that.

Brooks said it in reference to roits in Nashville April 8 and 9. He said a small demonstration expanded into a riot only after the police sent in men with helmets, billy clubs and shot guns.

"It was the policemen who created the situation," Brooks said.

McClellan noted that a federal court rejected that version, and said he does too.

Brooks: I believe black people should get their rights by any means necessary.

McClellan: Including murder?

Brooks: They're murdering in Vietnam.

McClellan accused Brooks of evading questions.

"I think this whole thing is absurd," Brooks said—AP

RUSSELL AIDE IN CUSTODY

Stockholm, Nov. 23,

AFTER a hectic series of flights between European cities, Mr. Ralph Schoenman, American Secretary to British philosopher Bertand Russell, spent the night in a cell at a tiny Swedish police station outside Stockholm

He was taken into custody after he tried to enter Sweden without passport.

Passport withdrawn

Earlier yesterday he flew from Helsinki — where he was seized by police for the same reason — to Hamburg and Amsterdam.

He was scheduled to attend the "War Crimes Tribunal" in Roskilde, but the chance was very slim that he will show up there.

His American passport was taken away recently because he illegally visited North Vietnam and Bolivia. — UPI

murders rise 13 p.c.

New York, Nov. 23,

MURDERS in New York city increased by more than 13 per cent in the first 10 months of 1967, with an even greater rate of increase in robberies and felonious assaults, police said Wednesday.

From January I to the end of October, 617 persons were slain as compared to 535 for the same period last year, a police report said.

Statistical compilations for other crimes showed that from January 1 to September 30, 25,653 persons were robbery victims compared to 15.208 for the same period last year.

Felonious assaults jumped more than 15 per cent in the first nine months of 1967 when 20,713 persons were either seriously injured in attacks or were assaulted with dangerous weapons. Last year 17,236 cases were recorded over the same period—AP

Yigal-Dayan rivalry out in open

Jerusalem, Nov. 23,

THE bitter struggle between labour Minister Yigal Allon and Defence Minister Moshe Dayan was out in the open today following a scorching attack by Allon on Dayan's conduct of the June war.

Sources close to Dayan reported he was furious at the biting criticism from his former comrade in Arms. Dayan was not available for comment.

"Allon is trying to goad Dayan into an indiscretion, may be even resignation," one source said.

The rivalry between the two has simmered for several years. At stake is the succession to 72-year-old Premier Levei Eshkol. Election are due in 1969.

Two camps

Allon. 49, is backed by the left-wing Achdut Ha'avodah Party. Dayan, 52, has elder stateman David Ben-Gurion and his Rafi Party behind him.

The Labour Minister also levelled harsh criticism against Eshkol's Government, but these statements were seen as an attempt to torpedo the expected merger of Eshkol's Marai Labour party, Israel's largest, Achdut Ha'avodah and Lafi. The merger would put Dayan into the front position for the premiership.—AP.

as «the darkest, ... season» for the U... tes and its allies.

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EXPEL' NATIO... CHINA, SAYS ...

United Nations, No...

France today ca... General Assembly t... tionalist China a... Peking in its place...

Mr. Armand Berar... ch delegate, also t... diamtrically opposed... the United States in... any change in the ... ion of China needed... ple majority in the ... assembly.

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El Sayed el Sada... people realise that ... of the battle lies ... hand, in their sacri... and in their front l... challenge.»

Addressing the P... conclusion of his ... address the Natio... Speaker said, «A... President, to conve... trust carried by th... of our people all ... country to the me... Assembly. This is ... you, Abdul Nasser.... ce and relentlessnes... termination and ten... work sacrifice and ... God guide your ste... His blessings, and ... victory.»

It was 5.20 p.m. w... sident rose to deliver ...

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and the star of Oriental dancing
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Hair-raising breakfast

Ipswich, England, November 23.

FIFTY-SEVEN-YEAR-OLD Ralph Moxham feels a little hairier each day because he eats fertiliser for breakfast.

Every morning, Ralph sprinkles his fertiliser — a compound of vegetable protein and seaweed— over his cereal and shovels it down by the spoonful.

He has now gone into business selling the peat-like substance — which also does wonders for lawns. — Reuter

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seasons for the United States and its allies.

Both the "Nhan Dan" prediction and the Vietcong claims were broadcast by the Vietnam news agency (VNA) and monitored in Tokyo.

"Nhan Dan" estimated that 270,000 U.S. and allied troops have been «wiped out" in South Vietnam in the past two years.

"All this shows that this year's winter-spring will see the most resounding victories for the South Vietnamese fighters and people, and that the current dry season will obviously be the darkest, most tragic season for U.S. aggressors and their henchmen," said "Nhan Dan"

The Vietcong report on the Dak To fighting was broadcast originally by the Viet Cong's Liberation press agency. It was relayed by VNA: — AP

EXPEL' NATIONALIST CHINA, SAYS FRANCE

United Nations, New York Nov. 23,

France today called on the General Assembly to expel Nationalist China and recogise Peking in its place.

Mr. Armand Berard, the French delegate, also took a view diamtrically opposed to that of the United States in saying that any change in the representation of China needed only a simple majority in the 122-nation assembly.

The U.S. and 14 other countries have tabled a resolution asking the assembly to declare the question important thereby needing a two-thirds majority—a move designed to ensure that Peking is barred from the United Nations.—Reuter

member countries, according to a poll published today by the Community Statistics Office.

Italy has by far the lowest standard of living of the six member countries. Luxembourg has the highest among industrial workers and Holland the highest among agricultural workers.

The spending of the average industrial Italian worker was taken as 100 by investigators who checked 42,000 families over several weeks in Germany, France, Italy, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg.

Industrial standards of living based on consumption were Italy 100, Holland 134, Germany 141, France 143, Belgium 152 and Luxembourg 168.

Agriculture

Agricultural living standards statistics showed Italy as 100, France 138, Belgium and Germany 153, Luxembourg 162 and Holland 180.

Dutch farm workers thus spend 80 per cent more than their Italian contemporaries.

The study showed France has 48 cars per 100 families compared to 20 per 100 in Italy.

The Dutch led the television poll with 57 sets per 100 families compared to Luxembourg with only 27. But Luxembourg led with 82 washing machines, 70 refrigerators and 40 telephones. France has a low six telephones per 100 families — UPI

AYUB INAUGURATES £650 m. MANGLA DAM

Karachi, Pakistan, Nov. 23

President Ayub Khan today inaugurated the $650 million Mangla Dam on the River Jhelum about 112 km from Lawalpindi ending a long-standing water dispute with India.

India and Pakistan signed the Indus Basin Treaty in 1960 for an irrigation system in West Pakistan necessitated after partition of the subcontinent into India and Pakistan—AP

In Sofia, meanwhile, Bulgaria advanced to the next round of the Olympic qualifying soccer tournament with a 3-0 win over Turkey in a second-leg match yesterday.

There was no score at half time in the match watched by more than 10,000 fans in cold but clear weather.

Bulgaria won the first leg match in Turkey 3-2 and with their 6-2 aggregate score qualify for a match against either East Germany or Rumania in the next round.

Both sides relied on defence in a dull first half but the home team opened up after the interval with intelligent attacking football which brought deserved success with three goals. — Reuter and UPI

Priest swept into grave in funeral

Georgetown, Guyana, Nov. 23

A mass of mini-skirted mourners swept a priest shouting prayers into the open grave in fantastic scenes at a burial service here.

Riot police and mounted troopers were called out to control thousands of teenagers at the funeral of popular 17-year-old Joan Forrester, killed in a weekend road crash.

Mourners at the funeral parlour quaffed iced beer and passed bottles of rum and whisky from hand to hand as they milled round the corpse, laid out in a fashionable mini-dress.

American priest Jerry Demetri had his pocket picked of a wallet — «all I felt was a touch" — containing twelve dollars cash, a hundred dollar cheque, his driver's licence and a family photo. — Reuter

FOOT AND MOUTH STILL PLAGUES UK

London, Nov. 23

Foot and Mouth disease gripped 12 of the 52 countries in England and Wales today with no sign that police, troops veterinary surgeons and farmers had won their battle to stop it spreading.

The Government—facing £6 million compensation bill for animals killed so far—has banned the movement of livestock throughout the country to prevent the virus spreading—Reuter.

Rise for 1 m. French?

Paris, Nov 23

The French Government is proposing a 3.2 per cent wage increase for more than a million of France's lowest-paid manual and farm workers—Reuter

and joined in the fighting. Two Turkish fans were taken to hospital. Otto Gloria, Atletico's trainer, said: «I have been in this business for 26 years and have never seen such bad refereeing.»

Goeztepe scored their third goal in the last minute to qualify for the third round on a 3-2 aggregate.

Protest

Goeztepe took the lead in the 15th minute when Halil scored from a penalty after Fevzi had been fouled. Atletico's Collar protested at the penalty award and the referee ordered him off the field.

Goeztepe went into a 2—0 lead in the 28th minute when Gursel scored with a header. In the 67th minute Atletico's Ufarte quarrelled with the referee and appeared to spit at him. Ufarte was sent off.

In the last minute Halil netted Goeztepe's third goal which ensured their place in the next round. During the fighting which broke out after the match, Yugoslav referee Josip Stremezki was knocked to the ground.

One of the Turkish spectators said: «The Spanish players turned the football pitch into a bullfighting arena.» A crowd of 30,000 watched the match. — Reuter

IOC mission on S.A. to meet today

London, Nov. 23,

THE fact-finding mission which recently visited South Africa to see whether sport there is now in accord with the Olympic Charter meets in Lausanne tomorrow.

South Africa were barred from sending competitors to the last Olympic Games in Tokyo in 1964 because the I.O.C. felt that sport in the republic did not adhere to the Olympic Charter

Eager to compete in the forthcoming games in Mexico City in 1968, the South African Olympic Committee has been doing everything in its power to overcome legitimate objections to South Africa being invited to Mexico. — Reuter

WEST GERMANY AND RUMANIA DRAW 1-1

Saarbruecken, West Germany. Nov. 23

West Germany and Rumania drew 1-1 in an under-23 soccer international watched by a crowd of 12,000 here today.

The Germans led 1-0 at half-time.—Reuter

Assembly ovation

(Cont. from page 1)

The Speaker then delivered an address in which he referred to the Arab peoples' demonstrations on June 9 and 10 when they insisted on the presidency of Gamal Abdul Nasser. This demonstrations he said, expressed relentless determination, unflinching resolution and rejection of surrender.

The UAR people, the Speaker said, owes the President the confidence by which it will face the future. This confidence is half the road to victory, he said.

El Sayed el Sadat said «our people realise that the destiny of the battle lies in their own hand, in their sacrifice and work and in their front facing the big challenge.»

Addressing the President in the conclusion of his introductory address the National Assembly Speaker said, «Allow me, Mr. President, to convey to you a trust carried by the foundations of our people all through the country to the members of the Assembly. This is «We are with you. Abdul Nasser... with patience and relentlessness... with determination and tenacity... with work sacrifice and blood... May God guide your steps, give you His blessings, and grant you victory.»

It was 5.20 p.m. when the President rose to deliver his address.

Support

The President's speech took two and a half hours after which the President left the hall of the Assembly amid a thunderous ovation.

Later the Assembly released a statement announcing its full support for the fighting line drawn up by the President in his speech. —

El Sayed El Sadat El Sayed Ahmed Fahim, Deputy Speaker of the Assembly and the Council's Secretary General, El Sayed Abdul Salam El Zayat later last night entered their names in the visitors book at the Kubba Republican Palace to express thanks to President Gamal Abdul Nasser for having honoured the Assembly and opened its fifth session.

They also conveyed the Assembly's resolution unanimously supporting the line of struggle defined by President Gamal Abdul Nasser in his address at the Assembly last night. — MEN.

M. Smith, Emerson win, Newcombe scratches

Sydney, Nov. 23,

FORMER Wimbledon champion Mrs. Margaret Smith-Court of Australia bundled young American star Rosemary Casals out of the quarter-finals of the women's singles in the New South Wales Lawn Tennis Championships here, today.

The Australian, on her comeback trail, burst back to near top form with a power-laden display to beat Miss Casals in straight sets 6-3 6-1.

Mrs. Smith-Court took only 44 minutes to win a semi-final place and completely outplayed Miss Casals, who was the second-ranked foreign seed.

She will now meet another young American, Kathy Harter, in the semi-final.

The 21-year old Miss Harter today provided an upset when she beat the title holder, Australia's Lesley Turner in straight sets in the quarter finals.

Meanwhile Australian John Newcombe, Wimbledon and United States champion scratched from the championships today because of a serious shoulder injury.

Newcombe withdrew from the singles event just one hour before he was due to meet fellow Australian Barry Phillips-Moore in a quarter-final match.

He told Australian Lawn Tennis Association officials that his shoulder was «just too bad to risk playing any more."

Denmark's Jan Leschly, the top overseas men's seed, lost his quarter final match to promising young Australian Bill Bowrey. Bowrey, the fourth ranked Australian, won 2-6 6-4 6-4 6.3.

Australian Davis Cup star Roy Emerson defeated young Australian left-hander Ray Ruffels in straight sets in another quarter-final Emerson beat Ruffels 6-4 6-2 7-5 and will meet Bowrey in his semi-final. — Reuter

1076

CONFIDENTIAL

BRITISH EMBASSY,

AMMAN.

(1071/67)

8 December 1967

Nasser's standing in Jordan

1076/67 (Kuwait)

We have been looking at Nasser's standing here in the light of recent events and with reference to Graham's letter to you of 29 October.

2. There seems to be no escaping the fact that, so long as Nasser remains the President and spokesman of Egypt, he will remain a major force to be reckoned with in Jordan. Such is the emotional association with the Palestine cause which he has built up for himself over the years that the many Palestinians in Jordan (who despite the loss of the West Bank still make up nearly half the population of the country) will always look ultimately to him more than to any other Arab leader as their main hope; and if the Palestinians in Jordan continue to do so, then King Hussein and the Jordan government, whatever their own feelings, cannot ignore him. Over the years Nasser's influence in Jordan has had its ups and downs but, whatever the anti-Nasser Jordanians (Wasfi Tel was an extreme example) have cared to believe, the downs have been few and the ups never far away. To take four recent examples:-

(i) Shortly before the Israeli raid on al-Samu' in November 1966, the U.S. Embassy here conducted a comprehensive survey of West Bank opinion of Nasser. Their conclusions, put into the form of a despatch which they showed us, were that Nasser's prestige had sunk considerably and that Palestinians were disillusioned with his unfulfilled promises and more interested in their own material wellbeing within the State of Jordan. Within no time, thanks to the Israeli attack on al-Samu', every major West Bank town (and the University of Jordan in Amman) had demonstrated against the Jordan government and for Nasser.

(ii) After the Israeli Mirages had in April 1967 trailed their coats over Damascus, tempted up some Syrian Migs and then shot them down, Nasser was shown to be quite unable to go to their help and the much publicised U.A.R.-Syrian Defence Pact was being effectively ridiculed by the Jordanians. By the end of May, thanks to Nasser's initiatives with UNEF and at the Straits of Tiran, his stock had risen so high that King Hussein could only bow before it, swallow his pride and go to Cairo to seek his help in the impending crisis. Amman thronged the streets to greet the King on his return and to show its approval of his action.

D. J. Speares Esq.,
North & East African Department.

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(iii) The sinking of the "Eilath", though not a very courageous military feat and one whose consequences were soon shown to be disastrously expensive, sent Nasser's prestige up again without his having to say a word in public; and this at a time when Jordanians, who had lost so much, could so reasonably have turned on him as being responsible for their defeat in the June war.

(iv) After the long silence following his speech in July, during which his friends and enemies alike were speculating about his chances of survival, almost every Jordanian radio set was tuned into his speech to the U.A.R. Parliament on 23 November. It was generally well received both by those who saw it as a belligerent rejection of anything except a solution by war and those who read into it a skilful boost for Arab morale and his own prestige which still left every option open, including contacts with U Thant's representative under the terms of the Security Council's resolution.

3. The conclusion seems to be that, as an Arab leader, Nasser retains a magic and a resilience that none of his rivals has ever approached. Nor are his supporters in Jordan very impressed by stories of the damage his policies could be doing to the Egyptian economy.

4. To turn to the more immediate (i.e. post-war) past, Nasser's standing seems to have passed through two stages (not including the immediately post-war days when some East Jordanians were cursing him as the man who had misled King Hussein into joining in a disestrous war and when Palestinians did not know at all what to think). The first was that described in the third paragraph of James Cable's letter 1078/54/67 of 5 October when sympathy was the predominant emotion. Nasser was seen as a man whose intentions had been sincere but who had not been strong enough either to see through or to control his less honourable advisers and subordinates. The mood then, especially among the younger educated Jordanians, was that the time had come to make a clean sweep of all the Arab leaders and for new men and new faces to be entrusted with the running of Arab affairs. Nasser with regret and without bitterness was to be included in this general spring clean.

5. But of course there were no new faces when the old leaders met in Khartoum. The "moderates" apparently triumphed but nobody here took this as a sign that Nasser had been defeated. Rather he had changed his mind and allowed the moderate line to prevail, a tribute to his own realism rather than an admission of defeat. While obviously pleased that the line he had been advocating had won the day, King Hussein, I am sure, was aware that without Nasser's blessing this would not have been possible. And it is very noticeable that, to give the impression that every subsequent important initiative he took had Nasser's tacit consent, the King made Cairo his first stop on his trips to East and West.

/6.

6. In Jordan's present fragile condition the government must be very relieved that it is not the object of Saut al-Arab's usual abuse but aware at the same time of the dangers for them if this were to change. King Hussein may have made the public running before the recent Security Council debate but surely he only did so with Nasser's permission. He and his close advisers are very bitter at Nasser's reneging on his agreement to the King's going along with the American resolution. They do not seem to trust him any more than they have ever done. The King has already incurred some internal criticism for his non-stop trips around the world since the war but this has only been simmering so far. If, however, he were to take some really drastic new initiative, such as to offer direct negotiations with Israel, most Jordanians would want approval from Nasser before coming out publicly in support of such an initiative. The prospects are, however, that the King will do his best to recover Jordan's lost territories by working for a successful outcome of the U.N.'s efforts to settle the Middle East crisis. But even in this he might at least require Nasser's tacit approval.

7. To sum up, Jordanians seem always to have divided into three main groups where Nasser is concerned:-

(i) The passionate anti-Nasserists, such as Wasfi Tel. They are, for the time being, "out" and the King, in Jordan's present state, cannot afford to allow them in.

(ii) The appeasers, who consider that Jordan's life is easier if she is on the right side of Nasser. This group are glad that Nasser is not interfering in Jordan's affairs at present and the King himself is clearly aware of the need to show the Arabs that he enjoys Nasser's tacit support (he does not seem to worry too much that the Syrians are still not associating themselves with his policies).

(iii) The pro-Nasserists who still look to Nasser as the leader of the Arabs and the only one whose express approval would justify any peace settlement with Israel. For them Nasser will never be replaced by King Hussein (or any other Arab) as their spokesman.

(P. G. D. Adams)

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THE EMBASSY OF CANADA

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F.O. TEL. No. 160 ..... SAVING TO Rabat

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AJS 21.XII

SAVING TELEGRAM

FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

BY BAG

Mr. Tesh

No. 11 Saving
8 December, 1967

UNCLASSIFIED

Addressed Foreign Office Saving telegram No.11 of 8 December, repeated for information Saving to Washington, UKMIS New York, Moscow, Paris, Algiers, Amman, Bahrain (Residency), Beirut, Benghazi, Jedda, Khartoum, Kuwait, Rabat, Tripoli, Tunis, Tel Aviv, Aden and JIC Nicosia.

Heikal's Weekly Article.

Today's instalment is a review of the scene before the meeting of Foreign Ministers tomorrow and the subsequent Summit which he places confidently in Rabat but at a time variously given as days, perhaps weeks, perhaps in January.

2. The aim of the Khartoum Summit was to decide whether the Arabs could get together. Now they have done so and the aim of the Rabat Summit will be to decide what they can do to remove the traces of the aggression. There is a review on familiar lines of the progress already made, including an optimistic review of Egypt's military position based on the "Eilat", Israel's failure to destroy the Suez refineries (the refinery on which Israel fire was concentrated has, he says, already started up again) and the recent shooting down of three aircraft out of four over the Gulf of Suez. There follows an account of the diplomatic progress made. Russia understands the Arabs completely (though "it would be wrong to believe that Russia is with us the whole time, which would be an error in the calculation of the strength both of the Arabs and of Russia".) France is at least half-understanding, though this is De Gaulle's attitude rather than Frances. The British have a "quarter-comprehension" - in itself remarkable progress. "With the interests Britain possesses in the Arab world we could develop this comprehension. It is at any rate much greater than ever before and the reason is that the Arab Revolution has imposed on Britain a political retreat from the Arab world. Britain now possesses only the means to try to make peace to safeguard what is left of its economic interests, or to beat an economic retreat as well and so end its presence in any form in the whole region". The U.S.A. are entirely non-comprehending and are unlikely to change.

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RECEIVED IN REGISTRY
20 DEC 1967

3. The U.A.R. will take to Rabat the Security Council decision, defined as the starting point on which the world society hopes to build a political solution. The U.S.A. and Israel sought to prevent the world from reaching such a starting point; and the solution itself is obscure and is insufficient to resolve the crisis. But it was the best that could be got, and though the U.A.R. could have had it turned down it preferred to let the resolution pass. It contains two positive points - withdrawal, and the linking of free navigation with the refugee question; and two negative points - the reference to "secure and recognised frontiers" and the blurring of the fact that the refugee question implies the whole future of the Palestine Nation. But the Arab interpretation has been made plain.

4. It would be wrong to think that the Summit meeting was designed, or necessary, to decide the Arab line to be taken with Gunnar Jarring; this is already known; and the Jarring mission is only a part of the political operation. He is virtually certain to find an unbridgeable gap between the opposing points of view short of a miracle, either political or military. A political miracle is unlikely because the U.S.A. sees in the situation a chance to liquidate Arab nationalism, cut off Russian aid to North Vietnam by keeping the Canal closed, embarrass de Gaulle by turning the Mediterranean into an enclosed lake and the U.A.R. by cutting off Canal revenues; to wear away Arab unity by the passage of time, to turn the economic screw, and to outlast inter-Arab financial support. In addition, there are the forthcoming U.S. elections and the Jewish vote. The immediate military miracle could only happen if either Israel or Egypt were ready to undertake military action; but for one the time is past and for the other has not yet arrived. This means that there is a quasi-equilibrium which is unacceptable to either side. Any political solution must reflect a real equilibrium.

5. All that Jarring will be able to do therefore is to elicit views and report back. The Rabat Summit can regard his mission as part of their operations. But the real object is to decide what could be done to eliminate the traces of the aggression. Perhaps they are now more ready to carry their responsibilities in the next stage.

F.O. please pass Saving to Washington, UKMIS New York, Moscow, Paris, Algiers, Amman, Bahrain(Residency), Beirut, Benghazi, Jedda, Khartoum, Kuwait, Rabat, Tripoli, Tunis, Tel Aviv, Aden and JIC Nicosia.

Mr. Tesh. [Repeated as requested]

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Chancery, Rabat.

With the Compliments of

Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador,

AMMAN.

A.L. Sowton 21·XII

H.E.V. Interchange

8 December 1967 I.D. 14/1/68

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F.O. TEL. No. 148 SAVING TO Rabat

PRIORITY CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Telno. 1273 9 December 1967

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Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 1273 of 9 December.
Repeated for information Saving to Washington, UKMis.New York, Moscow, Paris, Algiers, Amman, Bahrain (Residency), Beirut, Benghazi, Jedda, Khartoum, Kuwait, Rabat, Tripoli, Tunis, Tel Aviv, Aden and JIC Nicosia.

Heikal's weekly article of 8 December is summarised by Saving telegram. Its [grp. undec. ? central] thesis is that the next Arab summit, which he foresees in "perhaps days, perhaps weeks", possibly in January, will be the beginning of the constructive phase of joint Arab action to remove the traces of the Israel aggression. He goes out of his way to say that while the Jarring exercise is one part of the campaign, the summit is in no way dependent on it and indeed Jarring cannot hope, short of a miracle, to achieve anything as long as the United States maintains its present stand.

2. This is so close to what Heikal says in private that I think it need not be taken as reflecting any official attitude towards the Jarring mission. It does however probably reflect the need to prepare the public for a period of slow progress.

Foreign Office pass Saving to Washington 55, UKMis.New York 2, Moscow 38, Paris 43, Algiers 18, Amman 16, Bahrain (Residency) 10, Beirut 26, Benghazi 14, Jedda 22, Khartoum 13, Kuwait 15, Rabat 14, Tripoli 15, Tunis 14, Tel Aviv 19, Aden 1 and JIC Nicosia 6.

Mr. Tesh

[Repeated as requested]

The fuller summary in Cairo tel. No. 11 Saving below is worth reading.

A.L. Sowton 21.XII

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F.O. Eastern Dept.
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U.N. Dept.
Arabian Dept.

C.O. M.E.W.U.N.D.
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H.E. 21/XII
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H. of C o/a 20 Dec
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RECEIVED IN REGISTRY 20 DEC 1967

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S A V I N G R A M

FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

UNCLASSIFIED

BY BAG

Mr. Tesh

No. 11 Saving
8 December, 1967

Despatched: 11 December.

ROUTINE

Addressed Foreign Office Saving telegram No.11 of 8 December, repeated for information Saving to Washington, UKMIS New York, Moscow, Paris, Algiers, Amman, Bahrain (Residency), Beirut, Benghazi, Jedda, Khartoum, Kuwait, Rabat, Tripoli, Tunis, Tel Aviv, Aden and JIC Nicosia.

Heikal's Weekly Article.

Today's instalment is a review of the scene before the meeting of Foreign Ministers tomorrow and the subsequent Summit which he places confidently in Rabat but at a time variously given as days, perhaps weeks, perhaps in January.

2. The aim of the Khartoum Summit was to decide whether the Arabs could get together. Now they have done so and the aim of the Rabat Summit will be to decide what they can do to remove the traces of the aggression. There is a review on familiar lines of the progress already made, including an optimistic review of Egypt's military position based on the "Eilat", Israel's failure to destroy the Suez refineries (the refinery on which Israel fire was concentrated has, he says, already started up again) and the recent shooting down of three aircraft out of four over the Gulf of Suez. There follows an account of the diplomatic progress made. Russia understands the Arabs completely (though "it would be wrong to believe that Russia is with us the whole time, which would be an error in the calculation of the strength both of the Arabs and of Russia".) France is at least half-understanding, though this is De Gaulle's attitude rather than France's. The British have a "quarter-comprehension" - in itself remarkable progress. "With the interests Britain possesses in the Arab world we could develop this comprehension. It is at any rate much greater than ever before and the reason is that the Arab Revolution has imposed on Britain a political retreat from the Arab world. Britain now possesses only the means to try to make peace to safeguard what is left of its economic interests, or to beat an economic retreat as well and so end its presence in any form in the whole region". The U.S.A. are entirely non-comprehending and are unlikely to change

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RECEIVED IN REGISTRY 28 DEC 1967

3. The U.A.R. will take to Rabat the Security Council decision, defined as the starting point on which the world society hopes to build a political solution. The U.S.A. and Israel sought to prevent the world from reaching such a starting point; and the solution itself is obscure and is insufficient to resolve the crisis. But it was the best that could be got, and though the U.A.R. could have had it turned down it preferred to let the resolution pass. It contains two positive points - withdrawal, and the linking of free navigation with the refugee question; and two negative points - the reference to "secure and recognised frontiers" and the blurring of the fact that the refugee question implies the whole future of the Palestine Nation. But the Arab interpretation has been made plain.

4. It would be wrong to think that the Summit meeting was designed, or necessary, to decide the Arab line to be taken with Gunnar Jarring; this is already known; and the Jarring mission is only a part of the political operation. He is virtually certain to find an unbridgeable gap between the opposing points of view short of a miracle, either political or military. A political miracle is unlikely because the U.S.A. sees in the situation a chance to liquidate Arab nationalism, cut off Russian aid to North Vietnam by keeping the Canal closed, embarrass de Gaulle by turning the Mediterranean into an enclosed lake and the U.A.R. by cutting off Canal revenues; to wear away Arab unity by the passage of time, to turn the economic screw, and to outlast inter-Arab financial support. In addition, there are the forthcoming U.S. elections and the Jewish vote. The immediate military miracle could only happen if either Israel or Egypt were ready to undertake military action; but for one the time is past and for the other has not yet arrived. This means that there is a quasi-equilibrium which is unacceptable to either side. Any political solution must reflect a real equilibrium.

5. All that Jarring will be able to do therefore is to elicit views and report back. The Rabat Summit can regard his mission as part of their operations. But the real object is to decide what could be done to eliminate the traces of the aggression. Perhaps they are now more ready to carry their responsibilities in the next stage.

F.O. please pass Saving to Washington, UKMIS New York, Moscow, Paris, Algiers, Amman, Bahrain(Residency), Beirut, Benghazi, Jedda, Khartoum, Kuwait, Rabat, Tripoli, Tunis, Tel Aviv, Aden and JIC Nicosia.

TESH

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INWARD TELEGRAM

En Clair
Code Code R
Cypher
(Paraphrase Heading)
Cypher/OTP
En Clair by Conf. Bag

C4/Cat A

[Distribution Heading]

FROM FO TO Rabat

[Signature]

[No. and prefix] No. 653 D 11. 4.20 PM 13/12

[Date] 12 December R 2.15 PM 13/12

Repeated to

[Priority]

CONFIDENTIAL

FOLLOWING RECEIVED FROM TUNIS ADDRESSED TO FOREIGN OFFICE TELEGRAM NO 345 O 12 DECEMBER REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO AMMAN CAIRO RABAT TEL AVIV AND WASHINGTON.

ARAB-ISRAEL.

IN DISCUSSION YESTERDAY WITH POLITICAL DIRECTOR OF FOREIGN MINISTRY ON THE PRESENT PHASE OF THE ARAB-ISRAEL CONFLICT, POLITICAL DIRECTOR CONFIRMED THAT TUNISIAN GOVERNMENT HAD NO SPECIFIC INITIATIVES OR PROPOSALS TO PUT FORWARD AT PRESENT. ((INDEED THE STRIKINGLY LOW LEVEL OF TUNISIAN DELEGATION TO CAIRO FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERECE WOULD SEEM TO INDICATE NEAR DISINTEREST IN THE PROCEEDINGS). HE DID HOWEVER EXPRESS TUNISIAN CONCERN LEST THE THREE GOVERNMENTS WHICH HAD SUFFERED MOST IN JUNE WAR SHOULD ABANDON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE ARABS CASE OVER PALESTINE IN AN EFFORT TO BUY BACK THE TERRITORIES OVERRUN BY THE ISRAELIS SINCE 5 JUNE.

2. He asked

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389.Wt.37518/D161.1000.11/63.C.P.L.Gp.626.

2. HE ASKED WHETHER THERE WERE STILL A CHANCE THAT THE BASIC PROBLEM OF PALESTINE COULD BE SOLVED IN THE COURSE OF NEGOTIATION FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE POST-JUNE ISSUES. AND HE URGED STRONGLY THAT THE ISRAELIS SHOULD AS THE VICTORS OF JUNE. MAKE THE FIRST MOVE TOWARDS SUCH A SETTLEMENT BY OFFERING PUBLICLY THE TERMS IN WHICH THEY WOULD BE PREPARED TO RESTORE THE SITUATION FOR THE ARABS.

3. BASING MYSELF ON MR HADOW~S DESPATCH NO 42. I SAID OUR UNDERSTANDING WAS THAT WHILE THE ISRAELIS COULD WELL HAVE BEEN MAGNANIMOUS ON BOTH SCORES IN THE IMMEDIATE POST-WAR PHASE (IE UP TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE EMERGENCY SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY) THE HARDENING OF ISRAELI OPINION IN THE MEANTIME AND DIVISIONS OF OPINION WITHIN THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT NOW PRECLUDE SUCH A DEVELOPMENT. POLITICAL DIRECTOR CONTINUED TO PRESS THE VIEW THAT THE ISRAELIS COULD STILL AFFORD TO BE GENEROUS. THE FACT THAT ON THE ARAB SIDE THE MODERATE LINE HAD PREVAILED IN KHARTOUM - SUBSEQUENTLY OFFERED THEM SOME CHANCE OF OBTAINING A POSITIVE RESPONSE FROM THE ARABS.

F O PASS RABAT 32

SOSFA

F.O. TELNO. 174 SAVING TO Rabat 1076

BY BAG

SAVING TELEGRAM

CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

No. 12 Saving
15 December, 1967.

UNCLASSIFIED

Addressed to Foreign Office Saving telegram No. 12 of 15 December, repeated for information to Washington, Algiers, Amman, Bahrain (Residency), Beirut, Benghazi, Jedda, Khartoum, Kuwait, Rabat, Tripoli, Tunis, Tel Aviv, Aden and JIC Nicosia.

Following are main points in weekly press conference by Dr. El Zayyat, U.A.R. Government spokesman:

a) Suez Canal. The U.A.R. would not begin to clear the Canal while there was a single Israeli soldier in Sinai.

b) Arab Summit. The fact that President Nasser had said the Summit would discuss the Security Council resolution on the Middle East did not mean that there was any link between the Summit and Jarring, or that the Summit would take decisions on the resolution.

c) Soviet Aircraft. The Soviet squadron had left the U.A.R. on 9 December.

2. Full text to Foreign Office only by bag.

Foreign Office please pass Saving to Washington, Algiers, Amman, Bahrain (Residency), Beirut, Benghazi, Jedda, Khartoum, Kuwait, Rabat, Tripoli, Tunis, Tel Aviv, Aden and JIC Nicosia.

SIR H. BEELEY

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RECEIVED IN REGISTRY 28 DEC 1967

F.O. TEL. No. 175 SAVING TO Rabat

1076

BY BAG

SAVING TELEGRAM

CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

No. 13 Saving
15 December, 1967

UNCLASSIFIED

Addressed to Foreign Office Saving telegram No.13 of 15 December, repeated for information to Washington, UKMIS New York, Moscow, Paris, Algiers, Amman, Bahrain (Residency), Beirut, Benghazi, Jedda, Khartoum, Kuwait, Rabat, Tripoli, Tunis, Tel Aviv, Aden and C.B.F.M.E.

Heikal's Weekly Article: 15 December

The article begins by saying that the Jarring mission is almost condemned to failure in advance. It recalls that Bernadotte did at least see the importance of doing away with the physical division of the Arab world by Israel but even he did not see the basic contradiction between Arab nationalism and world imperialism. The Six Day War was only a momentary episode; and the preparations for action being made in the event of Jarring's almost certain failure cast doubt on the usefulness of his coming at all.

2. On the other hand the Arabs cannot flout international opinion and do not want to internationalise the Arab/Israel conflict - though it must be internationalised to some extent as part of the conflict between world imperialism and world revolution. Arabs can wait - provided they do not lose the breathing space; and Heikal would not agree with those who think that the spirit of revolution demands immediate warfare. But the Middle East crisis must not be allowed to cool off, as the Americans want it to. In this, the Arab Summit will help.

3. The value of the Jarring mission is therefore (a) the chance of a miracle, (b) the world understanding of the Arab case which it should produce, (c) the gaining of time, (d) the keeping of the crisis before world eyes, on the diplomatic plane or if necessary in less peaceful ways.

Foreign Office please pass Saving to Washington, UKMIS New York, Moscow, Paris, Algiers, Amman, Bahrain (Residency), Beirut, Benghazi, Jedda, Khartoum, Kuwait, Rabat, Tripoli, Tunis, Tel Aviv, Aden and C.B.F.M.E.

SIR H. BEELEY

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RECEIVED IN REGISTRY
28 DEC 1967

No. 1041/67

Her Majesty's Ambassador at Cairo presents his compliments to H.M. Ambassador, Rabat, and has the honour to transmit to him the under-mentioned documents.

British Embassy, Cairo,

.....

.....

22nd December 1967.

Reference to previous correspondence:

Description of Enclosure

Name and Date.	Subject.
Copy of Despatch no. 9 of 22nd December	Conversation with President Nasser

V. interesting. See, esp. 1 underlined passages

R. Ops 4/1/68

K.O. Agree 8/1.

D.A. Agree 8/1.

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY 8 JAN 1968

CONFIDENTIAL

Despatch no. 9
(1041/67)

BRITISH EMBASSY,
CAIRO.
22 December 1967.

Sir,

As I have reported by telegram, I presented my Letter of Credence to President Nasser last night. I now have the honour to submit a fuller report on the conversation which followed and which lasted for fifty minutes.

2. As we are now in Ramadan, when the President does not work in the morning, he received me at 8 p.m. after his evening meal. He remarked that he had never before received an Ambassador's Letters during Ramadan and that his decision to do so now was a compliment to Her Majesty's Government. Later in the conversation he said that he considered our resumption of relations to be a most important occasion. In fact he also received the Ambassador of Thailand for the presentation of his Credentials at 9 o'clock, but having decided to receive me he could hardly refuse the same treatment to another Ambassador-designate who was waiting in Cairo.

3. In response to a question about the visit of Mr. Jarring, whom he had seen on the previous day, the President said that the United Nations representative had been "absolutely silent" during their meeting.

/It

The Right Hon. George Brown, M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.,
Foreign Office, S.W.1.

It was evidently Mr. Jarring's object, on his present round of visits, to listen to his interlocutors without attempting to express any opinion of his own. He would, however, return shortly and would presumably give some indication of his intentions then. I said that the President was no doubt following the internal debate in Israel about her policy towards the occupied territories and I wondered whether he would find it difficult to make a statement with the intention of assisting the moderate forces in this conflict. The President asked what sort of statement I had in mind. I said I was speaking entirely personally but it seemed to me that some positive indication of what the Arabs would do if the Israelis withdrew would be helpful; they might for instance state that they would recognise the frontier as permanent and would be prepared to work for a peace settlement on condition that it included a solution of the refugee problem. Nasser said that he had already talked on these lines to Mr. Jarring. He had also pointed out that whereas the Israelis were constantly asking for assurances of their security it was in fact the Arabs who needed security against Israel. He repeated that, as he had told me at our last meeting, he had never had the slightest intention of attacking Israel last summer. If the Israelis now decided to annex the territory they were occupying they would weaken themselves by the incorporation of a large Arab population in their State, and there would inevitably be another war in the long run. For his part, he was determined to be patient. He could be patient for years while the Israelis stayed in Sinai.

4. I said this would mean also that the Canal would be closed for years. It was of great importance to us, as it was to him, that the Canal should be re-opened for shipping, but we understood that this problem could not be dealt with in isolation from the general issue of Arab-Israel relations. We considered, however, that the release of the fourteen ships trapped in the Great Bitter Lake was a different matter and one which could be settled without pre-judging the general question of transit through the Canal. President Nasser said that he was willing to release these ships; "mainly," he added, "for Mr. Brown." He had been deeply impressed by the way in which you had made it easy for him to resume diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom; "we are," he said, "a sentimental people" for whom such gestures were important. He had therefore instructed the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who was present at our conversation, to examine how this decision could be put into effect. In the first place they must establish whether it was in fact necessary for work to be carried out on the east bank of the Canal if the channel was to be re-opened. Whether this was necessary or not, the Israeli reaction would be a factor in the problem and he did not know what it would be. He was not prepared to ask, even through the United Nations, for Israeli co-operation. All that he would do would be to inform General Bull, at the appropriate time, that he proposed to clear the southern exit from the Canal. I expressed gratitude for this decision of principle and said that I knew it would give you great pleasure. It should

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also, I thought, be of benefit to the United Arab Republic since it would emphasise their legitimate authority over the Canal. He laughed at this and said: "But we do not have authority on the Canal. The Israelis are sitting on one side of it."

5. As I reported in the telegram to which I have referred, President Nasser did not specifically ask that his intention to release the imprisoned ships should be kept secret for the time being. But I have no doubt that he would be gravely embarrassed if there was any leak of this intention from our side before he had decided how and when he could give effect to it. I will do my best to send you early information of the progress of the Foreign Minister's enquiry and the decisions following from it.

6. In the course of this discussion, President Nasser had mentioned the interest of the Iraqi Government in resuming diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom. The Foreign Minister of Iraq had noted the visits of British emissaries to Cairo and Khartoum, and had remarked on the absence of any similar initiative towards his country. I said that you had attached a particular importance to relations with the United Arab Republic and I was by no means sure that you would be prepared to take a similar initiative in Baghdad. The President then said that a visit to Baghdad would probably not be necessary, but he thought it would be helpful to send a message to the Prime Minister or perhaps to the President. Contact for this purpose

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could suitably be established here in Cairo, where the Ambassador of Iraq was well-disposed. I did not comment on the suggestion for a personal message, but with your telegram no. 1950 of the 19th of December in mind I said that I was ready to establish contact with the Iraqi Ambassador here. President Nasser went on to say that reports of opinion after my previous visit showed that the restoration of relations was generally popular in Egypt. There was some opposition, but it was not significant and could be neglected. The situation in Iraq was very different as a result of the multiplicity of political parties there. This made things difficult for the government. In Syria they were not difficult, they were impossible.

7. I then turned the conversation to the People's Republic of Southern Yemen and the Geneva negotiations which I had attended. The President said that before independence he had tried, most recently at your request, to bring about a coalition of all the nationalist leaders. This had failed and he would not now interfere in any way in the affairs of the newly-independent state. Its independence was what mattered to him and its internal arrangements were its own affair. In the same way, he added, he was refusing to be involved in the quarrel among the Palestinians between the supporters and opponents of Mr. Shukeiri. Mr. Mahmud Riad interjected at this point that he had just spent five hours listening to the two Palestinian parties. President Nasser then said, with unusual emphasis and earnestness, that by contrast with his disassociation

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from the quarrels of the Palestinians he was continuing to support King Husain. Returning to the subject of Southern Yemen he said that he feared the Saudis intended to make trouble there; they would create another Yemen if they could. Mr. Mahmud Riad intervened again to say that the Saudi Arabian Ambassador in Cairo believed that his government ought to recognise the People's Republic of Southern Yemen, and that he, Mr. Riad, thought this view was shared by Mr. Omar Saqqaf. Finally, Nasser said that he had been asked for financial hel· by the People's Republic, but had had to tell them that he needed such help himself and was in no position to give it. He was, however, supplying some advisers (on which I have reported separately).

8. In answer to a question about the internal situation, President Nasser said that he was pleased with the development of the Arab Socialist Union in the provinces. Its central secretariat was very weak, but this was perhaps a healthy state of affairs. He then, as he usually does, reverted to historical reminiscence and talked about the events of the 9th of June, the day on which he announced and subsequently withdrew his resignation. He said that he had taken nobody into his confidence before making this announcement and that the popular reaction to it had taken him by surprise. He also said, with some amusement, that Mr. Mohamed Faik, the Minister of Guidance, had been manhandled by the crowd on that evening because of his physical resemblance to Mr. Zakaria Mohieddin who,

/it

it will be remembered, had been designated by President Nasser as his successor.

9. As I left the President, he asked me to convey his good wishes to the Prime Minister and to you.

I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors in Amman, Tel Aviv, Beirut, Jedda, Tripoli, Tunis, Rabat, Washington, Stockholm and Moscow, to the Permanent Representative at the United Nations in New York, to the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, to H. M. Chargé d'Affaires in Aden, to H. M. Consul-General in Benghazi, to the British Interests Section of the Italian Embassy in Khartoum and of the Swiss Embassy in Algiers, to the Commander, British Forces Middle East in Cyprus and to J.I.B., Cyprus.

I have the honour to be,

With the highest respect,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

(HAROLD BEELEY)

1076

En Clair

IMMEDIATE WARSAW TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Telno 821 22 December 1967

UNCLASSIFIED

Warsaw Meeting of Foreign Ministers' of 'Socialist' States.

The communiqué released today (embargoed until 1800 GMT) at the close of the meeting, states that from 19-21 December the Foreign Ministers of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, East Germany, Poland, Hungary and the Soviet Union and the Deputy Foreign Ministers of Czechoslovakia and Rumania met in Warsaw. They discussed in detail the development of the situation in the near East. They noted the continuing tension in the near East, where Israel still occupies Arab territory.

2. The communiqué notes that "behind the continuing and successfully maintained tension are lurking the far-going plans and intentions of particular imperialist circles, above all the United States, aiming to bring back neo-colonialist order in the Arab East, characterised by a basic hostility towards the interests of the people of this region. To this end attempts have been made to transform the Mediterranean into a region of aggressive policy".

3. The communiqué expressed support for the Arab States who are conducting "a just struggle against imperialist and neo-colonialist machinations against their rights and interests against their independence and State sovereignty, against national unity, against social and economic progress. The communiqué expressed support for Arab endeavours to reach a solution of the crisis and to achieve unity of action against "the hostile policy of neo-colonialism and imperialist aggression". The Ministers expressed their support for the idea of a conference of Heads of Arab States in Rabat.

4. The communique continues that "the participants of the Conference unanimously stressed that the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Arab territory to positions before 5 June is the principal and essential condition for securing the return and consolidation of peace in the near East. In this connection, the Ministers pointed to the great importance of carrying out the Security Council's resolution of 22 November and of the immediate withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from all occupied territory and they stressed the inadmissibility of securing territory by means of war. All interpretations whose aim is to weaken this basic element of the Security Council resolution are contrary to its letter and spirit. The Ministers stressed at the same time the necessity of all States who are members of the United Nations in this region recognising the right of each one of them to existence as an independent national state in conditions of peace and security". Israeli action in keeping occupied territory is condemned.

5. The communiqué concludes by stating that the Ministers exchanged views concerning possible measures to solve the problems of the Middle East within the framework of the Security Council resolution and expressed support for the newly established Yemeni Republic. "Discussions took place in a spirit of complete unity and close, friendly cooperation".

6. Foreign Office please repeat as necessary.

Mr. Brimelow
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H.M. Colony,
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With the compliments of

THE NORTHERN DEPARTMENT

Foreign Office 8th Dec 60

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

8 December, 1960.

CONFIDENTIAL AND GUARD

H.M. Representative, Rabat.

With the compliments of

THE UNITED KINGDOM MISSION
TO THE UNITED NATIONS
(The Lord Caradon)

845 THIRD AVENUE,
NEW YORK, N.Y.

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1076

SUMMARY OF LORD CARADON'S DESPATCH NO. 26 OF 29 DECEMBER, 1967 ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL DECISION ON THE MIDDLE EAST, NOVEMBER, 1967.

The Security Council resolution on the Middle East authorising the appointment of Ambassador Gunner Jarring of Sweden as U.N. Special Representative was adopted unanimously, and this gives some hope for the future. Jarring is admirably qualified for his task. (Paragraph 3)

The record of the last five months has shown that even on the Arab/Israel issue the international search for common ground can give results. (Paragraph 4)

The Foreign Secretary's speech at the Emergency Special Session set out the principles and aims which should guide this search. But urgency was lacking. The moderation shown by the Arabs at Khartoum was offset by Soviet and American withdrawal from the apparent agreement reached in the Gromyko-Goldberg talks of July. (Paragraphs 7-11)

When the XXII Session began Israeli opinion was hardening, the Arabs seemed to be at loggerheads once more, and their respective patrons seemed disinclined to move towards any settlement. (Paragraph 12)

The sinking of the "Eilat" and the bombardment of Suez signalled the danger of further delay. King Hussein arrived in New York at the beginning of November and made conciliatory statements. The Egyptians, alarmed, called for an urgent meeting of the Council at which two conflicting draft resolutions were tabled. The impasse was complete and so, apparently, was the United Nations' failure to deal with the situation. (Paragraphs 13-17)

At this nadir, we launched the British initiative. A draft resolution was prepared which gave the Arabs what they needed, a positive statement of the commitment on Israel to withdraw. The Israelis were offered a clear declaration in favour of a permanent peace and security within recognised boundaries. The Israelis turned our text down flat and Ambassador Goldberg, who was still hoping through King Hussein to get the Arabs to accept an amended American text, urged us not to proceed with ours. (Paragraphs 18-23)

The Latin American members of the Council then nearly wrecked our initiative by circulating a text which despite their excellent intentions would have been quite unacceptable to the Israelis. (Paragraph 24)

Kuznetsov, the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, then entered the ring and demanded far-reaching changes to our text which would have completely destroyed its balance. When the Russians tabled their own draft resolution all hope of agreement seemed lost. (Paragraphs 25-28)

/Fortunately

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY -9 JAN 1968

Fortunately the Latins were persuaded to delay tabling their draft and the moderate Arabs, fearing further delay, came round to ours.

Just before the vote came the final obstruction - from the Indian Ambassador (Parthasarathi) who insisted on stating what the Afro-Asians understood by the withdrawal clause in our text, as the price of withdrawing his own. (Paragraphs 29-30). A fundamental point of principle in our draft was thus directly challenged. With difficulty and just in time the Indian United Arab Republic and Soviet Representatives were prevailed upon to accept the terms of our statement in reply to Parthasarathi. A close-run thing. (Paragraphs 31-32)

Conclusion

The British initiative in fact canalised the deep desire of the general membership of the United Nations and of Israelis and Arabs alike, for differing reasons, to secure a positive result. This desire came eventually to be shared by the Americans and the Russians also. We were lucky in our timing and in maintaining good relations with all concerned. The operation at the eleventh hour did credit to the Security Council. (Paragraphs 33-38)

CONFIDENTIAL AND GUARD

UNITED KINGDOM MISSION
TO THE UNITED NATIONS,
NEW YORK.

Despatch No. 26
(1072/2669/67)

29 December, 1967.

Sir,

On the 26th of November the Secretary-General of the United Nations announced the appointment of Ambassador Gunnar Jarring of Sweden as his Special Representative in the Middle East, and on the 9th of December Ambassador Jarring left New York to undertake his formidable task.

2. So ended six months of wrestling in New York in an endeavour to cope with the problems created by the six day war of last June.

3. Ambassador Jarring was appointed under the authority of the Security Council resolution sponsored by the United Kingdom. The resolution (of which I enclose a copy) set out terms of reference for his mission and provided the framework of a possible settlement. The fact that the resolution was unanimous gave authority and some hope to the Jarring mission, and the fact that all concerned welcomed his selection and expressed admiration for his personal qualities was another good augury. It would indeed be difficult to imagine a man better qualified for such a demanding undertaking. Ambassador Jarring is a diplomat of long and wide experience, including experience of working in and for the United Nations, of undoubted skill and discretion and impartiality. He is respected by both Russians (he comes from his post as Swedish Ambassador in Moscow) and Americans (he was previously Swedish Ambassador in Washington), accepted by everyone, welcomed by Israelis and Arabs and trusted by the Secretary-General. Nevertheless, the difficulties of his task, as he is the first to recognise, are enormous.

/4.

The Right Hon. George Brown, M.P.,
etc., etc.,etc.,
Foreign Office,
London, S.W.1.

4. To tell the story of the tortuous and fluctuating six months of manoeuvre and negotiation at the United Nations leading up to Ambassador Jarring's appointment will emphasize some of the difficulties he faces. The story will also illustrate the frustrations and limitations and delays which accompany and impede United Nations action. It will also show that, even in a crisis of such complexity and danger around a generation-old confrontation which arouses such intense hate and fear, it is possible to find common ground of international agreement.

5. In his despatches Nos. 21 and 22 of the 9th of August Sir Leslie Glass reported on the debates in June in the Security Council leading up to the calls for a cease-fire, and on the subsequent Russian-called Fifth Emergency Special Session of the General Assembly. At that Session the Soviet Union had put forward its resolution calling for condemnation of Israel and immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops to the positions held before the 5th of June. Mr. Gromyko had then seen his resolution defeated in the vote clause by clause until there was no resolution left to vote on. The United States resolution would have fared no better, and had to be withdrawn. Both the Latin-American resolution and the so-called non-aligned resolution had failed on the 4th of July for lack of the necessary two-thirds majority.

6. The month's debate in the abortive Emergency Special Session had thrown away the chance of early and effective United Nations action. It had enabled Israel to consolidate its hold on captured territory and had encouraged Israeli belief that it might be possible to retain some at least of its territorial gains. It had also illustrated that the Assembly would not come down on one side or the other and was consequently not prepared to back either the Soviet Union or the United States.

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But both the Latin Americans and the score of self-declared non-aligned States had searched for some middle ground and some agreed method on which a settlement could be worked out. Moreover the depression which followed the Emergency Special Session was relieved by the fact that Chairman Kosygin and President Johnson met at Glassboro during the Session, and Foreign Minister Gromyko and Ambassador Goldberg had met at the end of it and apparently agreed on a formula for settlement. The extreme Arabs had been unwilling to support it, but the fact that the U.S.S.R. and the United States had reached agreement on a basis for a solution gave some prospect of progress.

7. More than that, the Emergency Special Session had given the opportunity for everyone to state their views, and when you spoke on the 21st of June you set out the principles and aims which should guide the search for a settlement, and you proposed the methods to be employed, including the appointment of a Special Representative of the Secretary-General. There was gathering support for the proposals you made. In spite of the failure of the Emergency Special Session the outline of the decisions which the United Nations should take began to emerge through the fog of accusations and recriminations. The Gromyko-Goldberg formula held out some hope that action backed by East and West would not be long delayed.

/of 8. In spite/these promising indications the Security Council did not meet on the Middle East for three months after the end of the Emergency Special Session. In that period the chances of any agreement receded, and when the Council met on the 24th of October the prospect of effective United Nations action was as bleak as it had been at any time since the cease-fire of July.

9. Early in August Sir Richard Beaumont and a British delegation had carried out discussions in Washington with the State Department, and we thought that good progress had been made in full agreement with the Americans. A draft resolution was worked out and agreed based on the Gromyko-Goldberg formula with the added provision for the appointment of a Representative of the Secretary-General "to assist him in seeking the implementation of the resolution".

10. Then the Khartoum Arab summit meeting called by the Arab League had shown a surprising new spirit of Arab co-operation and moderation, and a recognition of the need for a political settlement.

11. But these encouraging developments assisted by President Tito's initiative with the Arabs before and after the Khartoum summit meeting, were offset by what appeared to be withdrawal of the Russians on one side and the Americans on the other from the apparent agreement reached in the Gromyko-Goldberg talks of July. The Russians questioned the text prepared at those talks, and appeared to be reluctant to make any move not approved in advance by all the Arabs. Gromyko was away on holiday and no response could be obtained from Moscow to repeated enquiries. Meanwhile the Americans too seemed to be in no hurry. Worse still, they appeared to be increasingly moving to an outright Israeli position, and were not even prepared to press for the kind of resolution agreed with us in Washington in early August. They were now speaking not of laying down general principles for a settlement but of the necessity for specific guarantees including an advance Arab acceptance that Israeli ships must be permitted to use the Suez Canal.

/12.

12. When the XXII Session of the General Assembly began on the 19th of September the outlook was consequently again gloomy. When you spoke in the Assembly on the 26th of September you again set out the principles which should guide the search for a settlement and both your speech and the discussions you had with the Foreign Ministers of Israel and the U.A.R. again made clear the consistent policy which you advocated throughout. But Israeli opinion was hardening. The Arabs seemed to be again at loggerheads amongst themselves. The Russians and the Americans appeared to be unable to move except with the approval of the Arabs on one side and the Israelis on the other.

13. It was against these obstacles that preparations for a meeting of the Security Council went forward. Urgency was lacking until on the 23rd of October there came the news of the sinking by the Egyptians of the Israeli destroyer "Eilat" and bombardment by the Israelis of the town of Suez. This resulted in a brief Security Council meeting and a reaffirmation of its call for observance of the cease-fire. It also proved a spur to the work of the non-permanent drafters. First the Indians put forward a draft resolution which was so clearly partisan on the Arab side that it made no progress. (Foreign Minister Riad admitted afterwards that the Egyptians had drafted most of it).

14. Then at the instigation of the Americans Foreign Minister Tabor of Denmark tried his hand at a compromise draft. After an initially encouraging response from both sides this too came to nothing.

15. The non-permanent members of the Security Council did however agree on three purposes - that the provisions of Chapter VI (peaceful settlement) rather than those of Chapter VII (enforcement) should apply, that the Secretary-General should be authorised to send a Representative to the Middle East and that the Representative should be given precise terms of reference. But they could get no further.

/16.

16. King Hussein arrived in New York on the 2nd of November and his public and private statements seemed to show some hope of Arab readiness to compromise. He was mainly concerned to get the Americans committed to work for Israeli withdrawal, but he left New York with no positive conclusion in sight.

17. Then while these tentative and exploratory attempts were still going on suddenly on the 7th of November the United Afab Republic called for an urgent meeting of the Council. This appeared to be done without consultation with King Hussein. If this meant a major split in the Arab camp there appeared to be no hope at all. And as the Council met two conflicting draft resolutions were tabled. The first sponsored by India, Nigeria and Mali was an improvement on the earlier Indian effort but was still quite unacceptable to the Americans and Israelis. The second sponsored by the United States was equally unacceptable to the Russians and the Arabs. We had reached a deadlock, and since the Council was already called it seemed certain that the impasse and thus the complete frustration and failure of the United Nations must soon be publicly apparent.

18. It was at this rock bottom point that you authorised me to take an initiative of our own.

19. During your two visits to New York and in subsequent continuous discussions with the Israelis and the Arabs and with members of the Council, we had the fullest opportunity for understanding the attitudes and the aims of all concerned. We had been careful to make no commitment and to keep ourselves free to make the best contribution at the right time. We were the only permanent members of the Council in a position to take a new initiative. The Russians were clearly committed to support the Arabs and the Americans were equally clearly committed to support the Israelis. The French, while maintaining their

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usual attitude of superior and negative detachment, had not disguised their support for the Arabs. We on the other hand had throughout endeavoured to understand the essential needs of both sides and to keep in close touch with them both.

20. We knew from our long discussions with the Arabs that what they chiefly needed was a positive requirement of Israeli withdrawal. We knew that the Israelis must secure some clear declaration in favour of a permanent peace and future security of Israel within permanent frontiers. Our conclusion and contention was that these purposes were not in conflict but were complementary. We thought that if we could combine on a fair and balanced basis a call both for withdrawal and for a permanent peace we might be able to carry the Council with us and achieve the acquiescence of both the Israelis and the Arabs. It was with these purposes in mind that we drew up our own draft resolution.

21. In doing so we scarcely dared to hope that our initiative would be successful, but the presentation of our text would at least make our own position clear and point the way to an eventual just solution. During the next eleven days the life-boat we launched on the 11th of November was to face and survive the buffetting of fierce storms.

22. First I went to Mr. Eban and Ambassador Rafael and showed them the text we had prepared. Their reaction was immediate and strongly adverse. In particular they said that a mandatory call for the withdrawal of Israel's armed forces from territories occupied "in the recent conflict" and the statement in the preamble emphasising "the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war" were wholly unacceptable to Israel. They could not possibly acquiesce in any resolution containing such provisions. I argued with them that the statements about withdrawal and the inadmissibility

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of the acquisition of territory by war were coupled with the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every state in the area could live in security, and also with a statement in the clearest terms of what I understood the Israeli case to be regarding the termination of all claims or states of belligerency coupled with guaranteeing of freedom of navigation through international waterways and the guaranteeing of the territorial inviolability and political independence of every state in the area. But they maintained their uncompromising opposition and immediately confirmed it in writing.

23. I then showed our draft to Ambassador Goldberg who urged me not to proceed with it since he was still hopeful that something might come of his discussions with King Hussein and with Foreign Minister Riad.

24. Our next serious obstacle was the danger that the two Latin American members of the Council (Argentine and Brazil) would wreck our initiative by putting forward a text of their own based on the resolution which they had put to the Emergency Special Session. We had voted for the Latin American resolution in the Assembly (as indeed the Americans had too) and it would have been difficult for us to oppose the Latin American text. But that draft was quite unacceptable to the Americans and Israelis, and could consequently have no prospect of achieving any effective result on the ground. If the Latin American text had been presented to the Council before our own it would nevertheless have attracted a majority of votes and this would have given our resolution no chance of acceptance. We prevailed upon the Latin Americans to delay tabling their text, and then we went to work with them to see whether we could marry their text with ours and so put forward a joint British /Latin American resolution. So important it was to prevent a competition between our text and a Latin American text that we worked out a

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compromise

and were ready to put it forward with them. But even the limited changes we had worked out with the Latin Americans made the married draft most unwelcome if not unacceptable to the Americans and the Israelis.

25. The next development was that Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Kuznetsov who had so far remained very much in the background, no doubt watching Arab reactions, demanded that our text should be amended in several essential provisions to make it acceptable to the Arabs. I had to tell him that these amendments were out of the question.

26. As the debate in the Council neared its end we still had hopes that when put to the final test the Arabs would not oppose our unchanged draft resolution, and by the 17th of November we were prepared to put it to the test of the vote.

27. On the evening of the 19th of November, however, we learnt to our dismay that the Russians had been instructed from Moscow to table their own resolution. When we heard this all hope of agreement seemed completely lost.

28. The Russians put down their text on the 20th of November and then asked for a further recess of two days.

29. By this time, owing to the intervention of our Ambassadors in Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires, the Latin Americans had been at last persuaded not to present their own resolution but to vote for ours, and the Arabs too, particularly the Representatives of Jordan, Iraq and Morocco, fearing complete failure, were most anxious that our resolution should survive. We also heard, though we could not be certain till the end, that Foreign Minister Riad too was prepared to withdraw objections to our resolution.

30. We now had rising hopes of success though we scarcely dared to expect for more than an abstention from the Russians. Then in the last day or two before the vote yet another danger emerged.

/Ambassador

Ambassador Parthasarathi of India said that he was determined to speak before the vote to state in specific terms his understanding that the withdrawal clause in our resolution meant withdrawal of Israeli forces from all territories occupied since the 5th of June. I was told at the last moment by the Indians and also by the Russians and the Arabs that if I challenged this interpretation the Afro-Asians would not withdraw their draft resolution and our initiative would thus come to nothing.

31. This was no question of mere wording or interpretation. It was a fundamental point of principle. Our contention was that by adding the words "in the recent conflict" to define the territories from which Israel should withdraw and by insisting on the retention in the preamble to our resolution of the clause about "the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war" we had made the principle perfectly clear. But by omitting the requirement pressed throughout by the Arabs and the Indians and the Russians that the withdrawal should be to positions before the 5th of June we had equally clearly shown that we were not intending merely a return to the old armistice lines and the uneasy truce of the past. By stating the need for "secure and recognised boundaries" we had also made it clear that we contemplated new permanent frontiers to be duly negotiated and agreed. So the question at issue at this last moment was one of central importance. Consequently we had to walk a very narrow path as we approached the end.

32. Just before we went into the Council for the final vote on the 22nd of November I had to see Ambassador Parthasarathi, Foreign Minister Riad and Deputy Foreign Minister Kuznetsov in that order to get their grudging agreement to what I proposed to say in reply to Ambassador Parthasarathi. I told them that I would restate our position, maintain that the wording of our resolution was clear

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and also state that I could accept no partisan interpretation. It was just enough. With difficulty and just in time each was persuaded. When the vote was called, following an extreme statement from the Representative of Syria, India withdrew the Afro-Asian resolution, fifteen hands went up in support of our resolution, and the Russians withdrew their own. We were home.

33. We had survived first the opposition of the Israelis, then that of the Russians, then the diversion proposed by the Latin Americans, and lastly the intervention of the Indians.

34. This account may give the impression that it was our initiative and our determination not to be deflected from it that achieved the result. But this would be misleading. In fact the various and conflicting interests of the Israelis and the Arabs and the members of the Council all converged in the end to secure the positive result.

35. The non-permanent members made a genuine effort to start with; the possibility of a rival Latin American text in the result helped rather than hindered by showing, by comparison, the impartiality of ours; and even the interpretation of the Indians on the final day may well have helped the Arabs to withdraw their objections. We had good reason to be grateful to the Canadians and the Danes for their help and support throughout. And once the Americans realised that their direct negotiations with the U.A.R. Foreign Minister were making no headway they gave us their full support, making it plain first in Cairo and then in open debate in the Council that if the British resolution were passed the backing of the United States would be forthcoming to give it practical effect.

36. The chief credit for the Soviet decision to join in the unanimous vote must probably go to Kuznetsov. He had been helpful and understanding throughout and had shown great patience in

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listening to my advocacy of our resolution. I think that it was his own personal intervention which led to the remarkable Russian decision to abandon their own resolution and vote for ours.

37. Credit must also go to the Israelis and the Arabs. The Israelis, having done their best to shake us on the wording of our resolution on withdrawal, were later prepared to recognise that we were making a genuine effort with a full recognition of their needs. The Arabs, after their divisons and vacillations, were also prepared in the end to accept our good faith and to withdraw their objections.

38. We were fortunate in timing and in our friendly relations with all those involved. But the result was basically due to the genuine desire, indeed the desperate need, of everyone concerned to find some sensible common ground on which to advance. It was an operation which in the end reflected credit on the Council as a whole.

39. I am sending copies of this Despatch (with enclosure) to H.M. Representatives at all 1967 Security Council posts, and at those countries which will serve on the Council in 1968 (Algeria, Hungary, Pakistan, Paraguay, Senegal); to all Middle East posts; and to the U.K. delegations to NATO and at Geneva.

I have the honour to be,
With the highest respect,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

(Caradon)

UNITED NATIONS

SECURITY COUNCIL

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Distr.
GENERAL

S/RES/242 (1967)
22 November 1967

RESOLUTION 242 (1967)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 1382nd meeting,
on 22 November 1967

The Security Council,

Expressing its continuing concern with the grave situation in the Middle East,

Emphasizing the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security,

Emphasizing further that all Member States in their acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations have undertaken a commitment to act in accordance with Article 2 of the Charter,

1. Affirms that the fulfilment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:

(i) Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;

(ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;

2. Affirms further the necessity

(a) For guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area;

(b) For achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem;

(c) For guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones;

3. Requests the Secretary-General to designate a Special Representative to proceed to the Middle East to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles in this resolution;

4. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the efforts of the Special Representative as soon as possible.